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This unit is one of two units (see also TE 499 954) designed for the average culturally deprived student who has at least a minimum reading competence. It is composed of materials dealing with the broad topic of pre-civil war social relocations in the U. S., including such topics as the westward movement, life on the frontier, and slavery. Many of the materials are primary sources that require the student to interpret for himself the meaning and significance of events. (Author)

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SOCIAL RELATIONS, PRE-CIVIL WAR

Teacher and Student Manuals

(Public Domain Edition)

Larry Cuban

Committee on the Study of History
Amherst, Massachusetts

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EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

TEACHER'S MANUAL

SOCIAL RELATIONS, PRE-CIVIL WAR

Larry Cuban
Cardozo High School
Washington, D.C.

This material has been produced
by the
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The set of materials which this manual describes has been designed primarily for the "average" culturally disadvantaged student who has at least a minimum reading competence but will not go on to college. The materials differ in form but not in approach from other materials being developed by the Committee on the Study of History. Common to all is concentration of the process of inquiry and the assumption that students learn better by seeking answers than being spoon-fed. The materials for the culturally disadvantaged student deal in some cases with sophisticated questions, but they share the emphasis of the Committee's Junior High School materials on the development of skills. At the same time they seek to give the student more direction and structure than is provided in the materials prepared for college-bound high school students.

The materials are based on two convictions. One is that inquiry learning is the best way to teach the culturally disadvantaged student the reading, reasoning, and critical skills which he needs and which, in so many cases, he lacks. The second is that inquiry learning is the best way to get at the problems of low-motivation and attitude, because it offers a way of making learning relevant to the student. Using it, the student starts with evidence rather than with the conclusions drawn from it by some one else, such as a textbook writer, who may live in a culture wholly different from his own. He is asked to grapple with truth in a fashion that enables him to start from where he is, and to see it in terms which are relevant to his world rather than to someone else's.

The materials make one further effort to cope with the problem of motivation. They concentrate on the history of minority groups, particularly Negroes. The hope is that in so doing they will help to develop some appreciation and understanding of the part Negroes and other minority groups have played in the nation's past in order to combat the weak self-esteem that characterizes so many of these students. That sense of worth that is indispensable to the development of the whole human being is at the same time, of course, indispensable to the development of the learner.

The materials in this set are divided into lessons, twenty-nine in all, each suitable for one or two days' work. The expectation is that teachers will want to hand out the lessons individually, and that they may want to add or subtract from the assembled sets as circumstances and inclination warrant. For this reason they have been bound in loose-leaf form.

The teacher's manual which follows includes a brief description of each lesson and suggestions of questions and activities which might be used in teaching it. The suggestions are only that. The teacher's own idea of how to use the materials may be better, and the teacher should of course feel free to use them in any way he wishes. The Committee is anxious to know how each teacher does teach them, and what happens.

Richard H. Brown

THE LAND OF ABUNDANCE

This reading is taken from a glowing account of an early traveler to the colony of Pennsylvania. His description of the land, people, and promise of the colony obviously exaggerates what advantages there were in Penn's colony. The fact that the author, Gabriel Thomas, mentions no defects or disadvantages suggests that he had other motives in mind when he wrote the description.

Thus the reading makes it possible for the students to get an idea of how Europeans "saw" America. The myth of the Land of Abundance is clearly shown here. Whether the account is true or not is not important. What is important is that Europeans, Englishmen, and settlers believed it then. And of course this myth persists to the present.

The reading also serves as an excellent source for the students to practice critical reading skills--particularly in the area of recognizing and understanding propaganda.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the four suggested questions. The goal here is, of course, to force the students to identify specific evidence and to give them practice in evaluating it. When the students see that many things would attract people to Pennsylvania while few if any would discourage settlers, they may begin to doubt the truth of the account.

2. Have the students identify obvious instances of exaggeration. The goal here is to help the students realize the nature of the material with which they are dealing. There are at least a half-dozen outrageously humorous exaggerations which the students can point to. When they see that only the good things about Pennsylvania have been shown, and these to an exaggerated degree, they are ready to describe the sort of account it is. At this point the teacher should seek out the word "propaganda."

3. Once the word propaganda has been introduced, numbers of questions can be raised. Is it good? Is it bad? What about Communist propaganda? What about the voice of America? Was it wrong for Gabriel Thomas to paint such a glowing picture of America? Why might he have done so?

Other Suggested Activities

1. After the students have read this selection take a vote as to whether the account is a) truthful, b) untruthful, or c) both. Take the same vote at the end of class. The goal here is to encourage students to see that propaganda, very much like advertising, contains elements of truth. A good question here might be, "Can something be all true and propaganda?"

WAS THE BOSTON MASSACRE A MASSACRE?

The readings here offer two different views of the Boston Massacre by people who lived in Boston at the time. One, obviously biased, by merchant John Tudor is supplemented by John Adams' ringing defense of the British soldiers. From the two accounts, the students should be able to see that the massacre was not a massacre in terms of numbers but an event that resulted from the heightened tension between the British and colonials; that blame cannot be fixed upon the British; and that anti-English sentiment was not so strong in Boston at that time as to prevent the soldiers from receiving a fair trial.

The reading also gives the student a chance to recognize "loaded" words and phrases as well as an opportunity to compare and contrast sources.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the four suggested questions. The goal of questions 1, 2, and 3 is to suggest to the students the nature of sources and the difficulty of finding "the truth." The answer to question 4 might lead to another question--If a Boston jury did not find the soldiers guilty then does this have any implications for making a judgment about the colonials involved in the riot?
2. Ask the students which source they believe the most and why. This leads directly into the problem of evaluating sources.
3. Have the students identify words or phrases that seem to hit more at the emotions of the reader than the mind.

Other Suggested Questions and Activities

1. Why didn't Tudor mention Crispus Attucks?
2. Does ". . . a stout mulatto fellow, whose very looks was enough to terrify any person, . . ." tell us anything about John Adams and the jurymen toward whom the words were directed?
3. Have the students find out more about Attucks. Lerone Bennett's Before the Mayflower has some interesting paragraphs.
4. Have the students read the description in the text of the Massacre at the end of the class with a view toward assessing its adequacy.

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: CASE STUDY

This reading is a case history of a young man designed to develop in students an appreciation for the complexities of causation. By analogy, a distant historical event, the American Revolution, is made relevant by approaching its causes through a study of the changing relationship of a modern young man to his father. There are a number of links which forge the analysis: mercantile laws--rules set up between father and son; French and Indian War--fight between neighbors and Frank and his father, etc. In finding why Frank finally leaves his father the student may gain some insight into the causes of the Revolution.

In working with the case study students will discover that there is no one cause for Frank's leaving home--the colonies declaring their independence--but many. The student will also see that causes themselves are of two basic types: basic or fundamental causes and immediate causes --the powder keg and the spark.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the student discuss the three suggested questions. The first two questions, of course, show the student that the immediate reason for Frank's leaving (the fight) is not an adequate answer to the question of why Frank left home. Instead there was in the relationship between Frank and his father basic underlying reasons that were pushing Frank toward a break with his father.

Other Suggested Activities and Questions

1. Why did Frank finally leave home? Be prepared to defend your answer to this question.
2. Is it in the nature of the relationship between parents and children that sooner or later the child must "declare independence." Is it in the nature of the colonial relationship that the colony must sooner or later "declare independence" of the mother country?
3. Is there any danger to making comparisons or analogies between the behavior of people and countries?

THEY FOUGHT IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

This reading describes the efforts of the Negro in the American Revolution. It has been included principally because most texts record the efforts of other minority groups and neglect the Negro. Besides giving the student an opportunity to discuss the role the Negro played, the reading might be used to ask if the student can detect any pro-Negro bias on the part of the author.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the 4 suggested questions. The goal here is, of course, to have the student discover that while there was evidence of prejudice at the time of the Revolution, nonetheless the Negro was involved from the start. Furthermore, the student is made aware of how his understanding of the past can be influenced as much by what the historian chooses to omit as by what he includes.

2. Students might be asked to look for loaded words. Are there any words or phrases that suggest how the author feels about Negroes? Be specific.

3. Is this reading propaganda? Can an author keep his own feelings out of what he writes?

Other Suggested Activities

1. Show any film strip on the American Revolution and then ask: Did Negroes participate in that war? Then have the students read the selection and ask why Negroes aren't shown.

2. Have students check their texts for mention of Negro participation in the Revolution. Also have students check their texts for mention of other ethnic, national, and religious groups or people who were involved. Ask students to explain why, for example, Poles, French, and Germans are mentioned, but not Negroes.

WHO FIRED THE SHOT HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD?'

The reading presents two conflicting accounts of what happened on Lexington green. The colonial view is presented by Joseph Warren, President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. The British version is contained in a dispatch of a field officer to his commander.

It is virtually impossible to ascertain who fired the first shot from these accounts. The American blames the British and the British the American. However, the two documents give students an excellent chance to practice critical reading skills because both are prime examples of how a person's position and historical circumstances can influence how he sees and reports events. On top of this, the student can practice distinguishing between fact and opinion as well as the identification of propaganda devices.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the four questions given with the reading. The key question here, of course, is number four. This could lead into a class discussion of how a person's whole background, value system, and particular situation influences his view of reality.

2. To give the students practice in distinguishing fact from opinion ask the students to draw up a list of facts that are agreed upon in both accounts. Then have the students check these in other sources--texts, encyclopedias, and histories. Students might then list the opinions expressed in each account.

3. Both accounts contain descriptions of atrocities. According to Warren the British burned and looted homes and chased women and children naked into the streets. Colonel Smith has the Americans scalping wounded British soldiers. Ask the students if they think these things actually happened. Why were these episodes included in the accounts, and what words are used to describe them.

4. The last paragraph in the first reading raises questions as to what were the goals of the colonials as late as April, 1775. Did they want separation and independence? Can you be loyal to a king and kill his soldiers? Why might a colonial be inclined to blame the king's ministers rather than the king himself? If one of the leaders of the radical group in Massachusetts, Warren, was professing to be a "loyal and dutiful" subject even after Lexington, what might we infer about popular sentiment with regard to breaking with England?

Other Suggested Activity

1. Try to obtain as many paintings of the Battle of Lexington as possible. One of the earliest by Amos Doolittle can be found in the American Heritage Book of Great Historical Places. This shows Americans fleeing in disorder before the red coats. Later paintings, particularly those done in the first part of the 19th century will often show the British retreating before the fire of the minutemen who are in perfect order and heroic posture. A study of such pictures might raise a number of questions which would help give students insight into the nature of truth and evidence, and into such matters as the relationship between nationalism and artistic work.

WHY GO WEST?

The three selections in this reading reveal some of the reasons why settlers moved west. They also give insight into the attitudes and values of the people involved in the westward movement. From the sources students can discover that there was no single reason motivating these people. Instead a number of influences came to bear upon such, for instance, as the desire for land, restlessness, the

search for adventure, and the desire for gold. The third source gives students an opportunity to discover how such things as folk songs can reveal much about the people who wrote and sang them.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The goal here is to have the students see the multiple causation of anything as complicated as the westward movement and to suggest that there may still be frontiers today that call for the same sort of spirit as that which led settlers West.
2. Ask students if there are any more geographic regions of the world where there is a need for settlers and the pioneering spirit.
3. What does the song tell us about the people who wrote and sang it?
4. Take the words of a popular song of today and pretend you are an historian two or three hundred years from now. What would these words tell you about the people of today?

Suggested Activities

1. Play records of western songs (Burl Ives, The Weavers, "Roving Gambler," "Clementine," etc.) both for pleasure and for practice in analyzing them for information they contain about the values and attitudes of the people in the West.
2. Have the students watch a popular television western. Ask them if they think it is authentic. Why? If not, why do people watch it? Does the popularity of westerns suggest that something is missing from the lives of many people today?

THE PEOPLE OF THE WEST

This reading describes some of the people that moved west--mountain men, farmers, gold seekers, and others. It suggests that there was no single western type nor one single west.

Also of importance, the reading suggests the various influences the Western environment had upon these people and how they eventually adapted to these surroundings.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The goal here is, of course, to have the students see some of the things suggested above.

2. The mountain men selection will fascinate students. With specific reference to it, ask students how the environment caused these men to change their way of living. (How did the environment change food habits, speech, customs, etc.)

3. The mountain men selection ends with a remark about "decent Christians," a contradiction which gets at the difficulty of applying one set of values to another culture. Do you think the man who said this meant this? Do you think he was a "decent Christian"? If you feel he thought he was a "decent Christian" what does that suggest about his attitude toward himself, what he had become in the West, and Christianity?

Suggested Activities

1. Read accounts of mountain men in fiction such as A. Guthrie, Way West, the hero of which, Boone Candill, is a teen-ager.

2. Ask students if they can find any account of Jim Beckworth, a Negro trapper.

3. Have students watch TV programs to see which frontiers are being portrayed--hunting, farming, cattle, mining, etc. Ask them to support their conclusions with evidence.

4. Have a class discussion on the influence of environment upon personality. At the end of it have students write a paper in which they agree or disagree with the following statement: "Environment Makes You What You Are." They should make reference to examples in this reading as well as to other materials.

THE INDIAN: CLASH OF CULTURES

The reading on the Indian draws from opposing viewpoints: An observer's dispassionate description of Carolina Indians is contrasted with an impassioned outburst of hate by a former Indian captive. The final selection is taken from a novel of a 15 year old white boy raised as an Indian. His views of colonial life, filtered through the eyes of Indian experiences, gives us an Indian view of the white man. The three selections taken together suggest the reasons for the clash between white settlers and Indians. They also give students insight into the importance of the frame of reference of an observer. Thus in each selection the author makes judgments on the basis of his or her prior experience and environment.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The goal here is to have the students see how hard it is for people to make value judgments across cultural lines. The descriptions of the Indians and whites are limited and inadequate.

2. The selection from The Light in the Forest gets at the economic base of the two cultures--farming and hunting. It also tells of what qualities Indians and whites respected. Questions that bring this information out should be asked so as to get at the larger question of the reason for continual warfare between the whites and Indians.

Suggested Activities

1. Read Light in the Forest. It is beautifully written.

2. Have the students watch TV shows with an eye toward determining how the Indians are portrayed.

WHY WERE AFRICANS ENSLAVED?

This reading is designed to challenge two myths about Negro slavery --that the Negro didn't care about being enslaved and that Africans are not intelligent and sensitive--and to explain why it was that Africans were preferred to Indians as field hands.

The first selection from Slave Mutiny by William Owens shows how Cinque, a West African, was captured. He resists fiercely. The same selection also shows how the people in that part of Africa were used to working in agriculture. Thus, they made the transition to colonial plantation life with much less trouble than the Indian whose economy was still based, for the most part, on hunting and fishing.

The second selection is made up of three poems by modern Africans. These poems illustrate the hatred of slavery held by Africans as well as proving that the African is as intelligent and sensitive as any other person. The poems also give students practice in reading something other than prose, while illustrating how anything created by people can be used to gain an understanding of them. A poem can be a document in the same way as a state paper.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the readings. The goal here is to get at the idea mentioned above.

2. Ask the students to compare how people made a living in Africa with how people made a living in the southern colonies in America. It

should be noted that in Africa the people worked in groups under the direction of a boss in the growing of a staple crop.

3. Ask the students what each poem says. They should see the hate that Africans still have toward whites for slavery.

Suggested Activities

1. Before distributing the reading ask students why they think Africans and not Indians or whites were enslaved. Note reasons given and then present reading. Ask students at the end of the class which reasons given at the start seem to be still valid.

2. Read from other sections of Slave Mutiny or have students read further in it.

3. Read or have students read descriptions of conditions on the slavers. Good accounts are found in Commager and Nevins, Heritage of America and Scott's Living Documents in American History.

UNIT ON SLAVERY

(16 Lessons)

One of the most pressing problems confronting Americans today is civil rights. For the second time in our history the Negro is stage-front. The first time the fact of Negro slavery caused the American Conscience to be torn between ideals and behavior. A war was fought to narrow the gap between the word and the deed.

Today there is another crisis of conscience and again whites and Negroes are struggling to further narrow the gap of a century before. To properly understand the present Negro Revolution, one must ultimately come to grips with the institution of slavery, a three hundred year experience that left psychological scars on Americans of both races. The lessons which follow constitute a unit and invite students to explore the institution of Negro slavery. In the course of this exploration it is hoped that they will discover all or most of the following:

1. Slavery was a complex institution and no neat label such as "It was brutal" or "It was kind" describes it adequately.

2. The environment of slavery, to a great degree, shaped the behavior, attitudes and personality of master and slave.

3. Slaves, by and large, disliked slavery and resisted--in one way or another--its influence.

4. Certain white attitudes and behavior toward Negroes and certain Negro attitudes and behavior toward whites have their roots in the slave experience.

5. Slavery was a form of social control to keep one race superior to the other. When slavery was abolished, Southern whites sought other means of social control--eventually agreeing upon segregation.

6. The 300 years of Negro slavery and 100 years of second-class citizenship have left scars upon both the American Negro and the white.

It is also hoped that in the course of studying the readings in this unit, students will find frequent opportunities to practice various skills. Among these are: recognizing "loaded" or emotive words, recognizing the bias of the writers with whom they deal, using evidence to support generalizations, writing essays that are logical in structure and conclusions, and realizing the limits of generalizations.

SLAVERY I

TEENAGER DON BARRETT SPEAKS HIS MIND

This reading deals with the opinions of a Mississippi high-honor student, Don Barrett, who offers the typical white-supremacist feelings of many died-in-the-wool racists. He is an articulate and intelligent teenager.

The unit starts with this reading because it is contemporary and raises the question of why it is the Negroes occupy an inferior position in American life. Barrett's answer is that Negroes are inherently inferior to whites. This position should be challenged in class and thus leave an opening to suggest further study of the problem, particularly the effect of slavery on modern attitudes and values.

The reading also provides an excellent opportunity to practice critical reading skills. How well does Barrett support his opinions with solid evidence?

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading.
2. Does the evidence which Barrett gives in defense of his opinion that Negroes are "inherently inferior" satisfy you?
3. Are there any contradictions in the reading?
4. Why does Barrett dislike the federal government?
5. Given Don Barrett's background, education and the environment in which he grew up would you expect him to have different views and values? Why?

SLAVERY II

HOW TWO ENGLISH PERSONS SAW SLAVERY

Both selections in this reading were written by persons of English birth and education. They are descriptions of plantation life in Georgia yet they are diametrically opposed. In the first, Sir Charles Lyell, a British traveler, author, and lecturer, compares favorably the conditions of slaves with those of English farm laborers. In the second, Frances Kimble, betraying her abolitionist background, righteously fumes about the indignities of bondage.

The goal here is to have the students discover how difficult it is to generalize about any complicated subject such as slavery. At the same time the reading gives students a chance to gain insight into the limits of historical sources as well as the relationship between an author's bias and the tone and content of his work.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading
2. If Kimble had visited Hopeton, and Lyell had visited Kimble's plantation, do you think their descriptions would have been the same? Why?
3. Is it possible that both writers are telling the truth as they see it? Why?

Suggested Activity

1. At the start of the period, after the students have read the two accounts, record the number of students who consider Kimble's to be the more "truthful." Ask the same question toward the end of the discussion and if any shift has taken place, ask why.

SLAVERY III

TWO FAMOUS EX-SLAVES' ACCOUNTS

Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, both ex-slaves, describe slavery in a bit more sophisticated manner in this reading. Douglass' account is closer to Kimble's than Washington's. Yet Washington's differs from Lyell. He paints a dismal picture of slavery, although he at no time blames the slaveholders, and he emphasizes the loyalty and fidelity of the slaves.

The goal here is to build upon the insight gained in the previous reading that it is difficult to generalize about slavery. There are many variables involved such as the master, the crops, the size of the plantation, etc.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The goal of the third question is to get at the nature of truth and sources. Clearly the experience of each man colored his view of slavery and indeed of all other things in his life. At this point it might be interesting to refer back to Don Barrett's "truth."

2. Point out that Washington does not blame the slaveholders for the conditions he describes. Instead he emphasizes the good qualities of the Negroes. Why might Washington do this?

Suggested Activities

1. The activity suggested with the previous reading might be tried again.

2. Read excerpts from the autobiographies of both men.

3. Have the students begin a notebook on the various facets of plantation life mentioned in the documents.

SLAVERY IV

LET A SLAVE SPEAK

This reading consists of two accounts of slavery by two ex-slaves, Millie Evans and Jennie Proctor. They are fascinating and the humanity and earthiness of both is strikingly clear. As in the past two readings, two viewpoints are juxtaposed. Millie Evans praises slavery; Jennie Proctor condemns it. Thus the students have more material to wrestle with in trying to discover what generalizations can be made about slavery.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the unit.

2. Ask students to make generalizations about slavery which satisfy all the available evidence. It is not important here what any student

says. The idea is to get the students involved and disagreeing with each other about the material. After reading six accounts of slavery, students should have some idea of their own as to what slavery was like.

3. If some students give evidence only to those accounts which stress the evils of slavery, or only to those which talk about the paternalistic qualities of slavery, then the teacher might wish to get into the why of this. Along the same line, the teacher might ask which accounts Don Barrett might favor and why.

SLAVERY V

CAN ANY CONCLUSION BE REACHED?

This summary exercise is based upon the previous readings and can be used in a variety of ways. It can be used to help students organize and refine their generalizations of the previous day. It may be used as a review for a quiz or test. However, in this case no purpose would be served in asking particular questions along the lines of "What is an overseer?" Instead the larger questions: What was slavery like? or Did slaves like slavery? should be asked.

Another approach might be to divide the class into groups making each group responsible for reaching a consensus about each category. Here, as in all discussions and activities involved in this unit, students should use the documents as evidence by making specific reference to them.

SLAVERY VI

LAWS OF THE SOUTH

A different sort of evidence is used in this reading--southern slave laws. The previous readings were selected with an eye toward balancing one view of slavery with its opposite so as to make it difficult for the student to form a generalization. This sampling from slave codes will tend to give support to those students who argue that slavery tended to treat humans as animals and was harsh. The laws are obviously contradictory and vividly show the dilemma of the Southern white as to whether Negroes were human or chattel property. They also show that slavery was a form of social control to keep one race in subjection to another.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have students answer the questions given with the reading.
2. What effect would the laws have had on Negro family structure? Would they tend to make it different from white family structure?
3. Do these laws remind you of any laws of the past few decades? The goal here is to get at segregation laws, the reasons for them, and their effects.

SLAVERY VII

COMPARING SLAVE SYSTEMS

This reading presents the students with evidence taken from the slavery experience of two societies--The United States and Latin America.

By asking the students to separate evidence of North American slavery from that of Latin America two goals are served. The first is to give the student a chance to relate this material to what he already knows. The other is to demonstrate that the slavery system of the South was not the only one. Other civilizations developed other kinds of slavery. In this case, Latin America, the evidence points to a lack of a color-caste system plus a greater recognition of the slaves' human dignity and need for protection.

The difference in treatment of the slaves in the two societies also has implications for the period of adjustment to freedom. In the United States, where the slave was dehumanized, adjustment was difficult. In Latin-America, where the slave had had some measure of dignity and human status, the adjustment has been less difficult.

In working with the material found in this reading, students will have a chance to practice organizing facts into a consistent, logical order as well as making contrasts and comparisons. On top of this, they will have the opportunity to explore the implications of contrasts in historical data.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The last question might be saved until the end of the class.
2. If there is time after the location of country X is revealed, it might be interesting to find out if the students know the differences between Latin America and the United States in the areas of religion and government that existed at the time of slavery. Some historians claim

that both the federal system of the United States which placed slave-code making power in the hands of the states and the large number of religious sects, many of which were congregational in organization, made slavery here harsher than in Latin America. In the latter, under Spanish and Portuguese rule, laws were made by the central government and there was but one church, the Roman Catholic, whose clergy was appointed from above rather than chosen by the congregation.

This raises some interesting questions for the present. The students might be asked questions along the lines of, "Which treats Negroes better today Federal or State laws?" Thus the irony of the theoretically more "democratic" governments, the states, having, in general, a less "democratic" record than the Federal. The same sort of irony exists at present in the area of religions where the Roman church, perhaps the least "democratically" organized of all denominations has had in many cases in the South a better record of integration than many other churches which have a far more democratic organization.

3. Because a law says a slave may not be beaten, does it mean that no slaves were beaten? This question opens up a discussion of the limits of law. It also makes it possible for the teacher to mention the danger of coming to conclusions about the slave system in Latin America. Some historians claim that both the governments and the Church in Latin America found it hard to control the acts of individual slave owners.

The teacher may also raise the question of modern examples of laws that are not enforced.

Suggested Activities

1. Have students work in teams.
2. The 1965 Spring and Summer issues of Ebony carried articles on color and caste in Latin America. Students might be interested in reading them.

SLAVERY VIII

ATTITUDES FROM SLAVERY

The aim of this reading is to make it possible for students to discover the historical roots of some present day attitudes and values. The first selection taken from Kenneth Stamp summarizes the whole range of attitudes of slaves from love to hate. A key point here is how slaves learned to play a particular role in the presence of whites. The second selection focuses on the South three-quarters of a century later and the attitudes of a Negro teen-ager toward whites. The relationship between the slave South and the "free" South nearly a century later should be obvious to students at the end of the class.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading.
2. The woman who speaks to Richard Wright has a set of stereotypes about Negroes. Thus this might serve as a starting point on a series of questions about stereotypes in general. Do they apply only to Negroes? Why do people think that way?
3. Are there examples in earlier readings of Negro role playing? Do only people in an insecure position play roles? Were the woman who gave Richard Wright the bad food and the man who kicked Shorty playing roles? Do students play roles for teachers and teachers for students? When would you say role playing is bad? Can it ever be good?
4. What would Don Barrett think of Richard Wright, Shorty, and the woman who served the bad food?

Suggested Activities

1. Possibly the experience of Jews in German concentration camps could be used to show what being subjected to absolute power did to very educated people. See Stanley Elkins, Slavery.
2. More sections from Black Boy or the short story "Ethics of Jim Crow" in Uncle Tom's Children, also by Richard Wright, might be read.

SLAVERY IX

MORE ATTITUDES

The previous reading stressed Negro attitudes toward whites during and after slavery. The documents made it possible for the students to see the historical sources of some modern Negro attitudes and behavior. In the same fashion this reading deals with white attitudes and values. The selections from pro-slavery supporters demonstrate that these whites thought Negro slaves to be an inferior order of man. The selections from modern segregationists indicate the same. Thus, students can see the relationship between the attitudes of the past and present. At the same time they can discover that the experience of slavery had much to do with the establishment and continuance of these attitudes. The arguments used to justify slavery are essentially the same as those used to justify segregation. White attitudes of superiority which justify segregation today have their equivalent in white attitudes which justified slavery.

In grappling with the questions involved in this reading the students will practice building an argument based upon logical supporting evidence.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading.
2. Can the Bible be used to support equality and no slavery?
3. Is there any connection between what the White Citizen's Council wants in the elementary school textbooks and the ideas stressed by pro-slavery supporters in the 1850's? Indicate.

Suggested Activities

1. Have the students read parts of text books dealing with slavery, the plantation system, and Reconstruction. Ask them to look for examples of the attitudes dealt with in this reading.

SLAVERY XSLAVE REBELLIONS

Students often have an idea that few slaves resisted bondage and that the majority accepted it and let it go at that. The next few readings illustrate the various ways slaves resisted slavery and what they did to show their distaste for it.

Clearly outright physical violence and rebellion is an obvious sign of resistance. This lesson deals with one insurrection, that of Nat Turner. The selections in this reading are taken from Turner's own testimony and from an account by a modern writer.

In dealing with these documents the students will discover that slaves did rebel, the threat of rebellion paralyzed the South, and that masters feared slaves. At the same time the two selections afford students an opportunity to compare and contrast primary and secondary accounts of the same event. In doing this they can get insight into the historian's role of interpreter.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the student answer the questions given with the reading.
2. Can the Bible be used to justify killing?
3. Is escape from slavery a justifiable reason to kill?
4. Why did Turner spare a few whites?

Suggested Activity

1. Have the class debate whether Nat Turner was a hero or an insane fanatic. This might give students practice in making specific reference to evidence in support of any statement they make.

SLAVERY XI

RUNAWAYS

This reading is an exchange of letters between an ex-slave who had run away to Canada and his former master. The free Negro states how he feels about slavery and the essential immorality of it. The former master shows complete insensitivity to what a lack of liberty meant and the ex-slave blasts her for this.

In dealing with this reading students will see how slaves that ran away hated slavery and that escape was a way to resist it. At the same time they will discover how words can mean different things to different people--in this case liberty.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The fourth question gets at the problem of communication between people who have different ideas as to the meaning of a word. The teacher might want to use this example to illustrate the problem of dealing with the Soviet Union or Communist China. To the people in those countries and their leaders words like "democracy" have a meaning quite different than they do to us.

2. In what way does the former master appeal to the ex-slave to send money or return? This question gets at the slave-owner's view of slaves. They are property yet they are humans. This ambiguity and the implications of it might be stressed. It ties up with the present civil-right movement.

3. Why did Jarm run away?

Suggested Activity

1. Other escapes and the full dimensions of the Underground Railroad can be studied in Larry Gara, The Liberty Line and J. C. Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom. Selections from these books could be read to the class. The students might enjoy episodes in which impersonations took place.

SLAVERY XIIHARRIET TUBMAN

This reading describes some of the exploits of Harriet Tubman. She was an heroic and inspiring ex-slave. Not only did she escape from bondage, but she returned time and again to the South to help others.

Thus she serves as an example of how the desire to be free and the desire to help other Negroes to be free motivated this woman to perform extraordinary deeds. At the same time her general humanitarian concern--nursing wounded soldiers and work for women's rights are two examples--raises interesting questions as to this brave woman's motivation. Was her concern only for Negroes?

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the readings.
2. Students can be asked if any would be willing to go into the South today to work for Civil Rights and by so doing help others. This might bring up a discussion of idealism and active commitment.

Suggested Activities

1. Obtain the film about Harriet Tubman which was first shown on the "Great Adventure" TV series. It is available for school use.
2. Read from Sarah Bradford's biography of Harriet Tubman.

SLAVERY XIIISLAVE HUMOR

This reading illustrates another way slaves resisted bondage. Slave humor suggests that because slaves could not openly express their feelings of hatred for their condition and masters, they expressed their feelings through humor and song. Humor often serves as an outlet for aggression. Slave humor is wry and often casts the slave as the sly trickster who outwits the master.

The aim of this reading is to give the students a chance to see how there is often more to what they read than what appears on the surface. In this case, for example, humor serves as a covert and subtle way of getting back at the white man.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the student answer the questions given with the reading.
2. Ask students if they have ever been in a situation where a joke or humor was used to ease mounting tension.

Suggested Activity

1. Use materials of Dick Gregory, Nipsy Russel, Bill Cosby, and Godfrey Cambridge in order to see if comparisons and/or contrasts can be made.

SLAVERY XIVSPIRITUALS

As with slave humor, spirituals have been defined in terms of what they offered slaves--an outlet. The lyrics of many of them express a longing for release from bondage. In some cases this hope is not only for a heavenly release but for an earthly freedom. Thus the students can see in slave musical expression further resistance to slavery.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading.

Suggested Activity

1. Play recordings of other spirituals both for enjoyment and analysis.

SLAVERY XVARE ANY SCARS LEFT?

The object of this activity is to have students draw upon all the material covered in the unit in order to answer the question, "Has slavery left its mark on the Negro?"

It is suggested that the answer to the question be in the form of an essay. It is immaterial whether the student answers in the affirmative or negative. What is important is that they take a stand, use relevant and specific evidence, and do not omit important details.

Most social scientists agree that slavery has left its mark. They point to unstable family structure, matriarchal family unit, and low status of male, to mention but a few. Probably, the best text for this is Franklin Frazier's The Negro in America. Gunnar Myrdal's classic, American Dilemma, is also helpful.

Quite possibly some students will take the position that the experience of slavery happened too long ago to have any present impeding effect upon Negroes and that they like other minority groups, must stand on their own two feet and make their own way. In this case the best strategy would be for the students to argue it out in class and make their own choice.

SLAVERY XVI

ARE ANY SCARS LEFT NOW?

If the discussion from the preceding exercise has been left hanging then the work in connection with this reading may help resolve the issue. The answers from student papers are generally convincing and will add fuel to the controversy. The article on Selma concentrates on the white supremacist thinking still with us. This can be linked to earlier readings on white attitudes. The overall effect of this reading should be to confirm the idea that 300 years of slavery did leave marks upon Americans, Negro and white alike,, Furthermore, this realization makes it easier to understand the recent surge of militancy on the part of the Civil Rights workers.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the readings.
2. Go over each of the student answers and have your own students analyze them. Are they accurate? Probable?
3. Relate the Times article to earlier readings, especially the ones on attitudes.
4. Has the experience of Negro slavery left any marks upon whites?

JOHN BROWN: MARTYR OR INSANE FANATIC

The goal of this short reading is to give the students practice in reaching a conclusion based upon evidence. To be sure the evidence is limited, yet both points of view are represented.

The selection from Carl Sandburg's Prairie Years shows Brown as an insane fanatic. The other selections in the reading show the origins of the movement to enshrine him as a martyr of Negro freedom.

Working with these materials, the students should be able to practice critical reading because of the number of loaded words and phrases included. They should also realize how difficult it is to get agreement about a controversial character in history such as John Brown.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. In order to deal with the first question it might be helpful to ask the students to pick out the words and phrases that Sandburg uses to suggest that Brown was insane. Question four, of course, deals with the eternal problem of means and ends and the teacher might raise questions from today's events to stimulate discussion.

Suggested Activities

1. As soon as the students complete the reading divide the class according to where the students stand on the title question. Then have a debate.

2. Show students a number of paintings and drawings of Brown. Ask students to see if the pictures reveal how the artists felt about John Brown.

3. Read selections from Leonard Erlich's God's Angry Man, which has many beautiful passages about Brown's life from a sympathetic point of view.

ANOTHER VIEW OF SLAVERY: UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

This reading, a summary of Uncle Tom's Cabin, is taken from J. C. Furnas' Goodby Uncle Tom. It tells who Uncle Tom is and what happens to him, and, in doing so, describes slavery through the eyes of a New England abolitionist. In dealing with this reading students should see that Tom as well as other characters are stereotypes and that the book is not a completely accurate picture of slavery. For this reason it would be best to deal with the lesson after studying the institution of slavery.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the reading. The first question can be used to get at the Christ-like death of Tom. This might provoke discussion as to what are the best means to achieve ends.
2. Who are the "good" people? What happens to them? Who are the bad? people? What happens to them?
3. Why doesn't Tom fight back? What do you think of a person like that?
4. According to the story, what is a "good" Negro? Do you agree? Are people like this or is this what whites would like Negroes to be like? (The goal here is to get what a stereotype is.)

Suggested Activity

1. Passages from Uncle Tom's Cabin might be read. The chase scenes are humdingers.
2. The musical "The King and I" has a scene which deals with the Uncle Tom story from a Siamese point of view. The record or film of this might be used to help in developing the idea of stereotypes.

WHAT IS AN UNCLE TOM TODAY?

This reading should be used in conjunction with "Another View of Slavery: Uncle Tom's Cabin." It shows how the meaning of words change. Today for a Negro to be called an "Uncle Tom" is a serious insult.

In reading Alex Haley's "In 'Uncle Tom' Our Guilt and Hope" the students discover why it is that meanings change. They will also see how the values of the times influence the meaning of things. At the same time the students should refine their understanding of stereotypes and stereotypical thinking.

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have the students answer the questions given with the readings. The goal here is to get at how words change their meanings in time. The last question again raises the problem of means and ends. If the college president was "Tomming" could he justify it in terms of what he could do for the benefit of his students with \$50,000?
2. Ask the students for examples of other stereotypes--Irish, Italian, Jewish, Puerto Rican, etc. A good device in this case is to have a number of pictures of various nationalities to counter the myth that you can tell a person's background by looking at him.

3. The students might be asked if they have ever "Tommed"-- that is played out a role that other people expected in order to gain something.

Suggested Activity

1. Have the students take a poll in their neighborhood to determine what "Uncle Tom" means to people.

NEGRO COWBOYS

This reading is taken from The Negro Cowboy by Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones. This book shows the varied roles that Negroes played in the West in the post-Civil War period. It also stresses the fact that Negroes were there in large numbers.

From working with this material the students should see how the western environment lessened somewhat the oppressive weight of discrimination. At the same time, this reading raises the interesting question--what became of these western Negroes in western stories, movies, and TV programs?

Suggested Lesson Plan

1. Have students answer the questions given with the readings. The third question might lead right into the "myth" of the West. To most Americans for generations the West has been the home of heroes and high adventure. The cowboy is the equivalent of the knight of European romances. Rather than have Negro heroes, Negroes were removed from the mythical West in order to conform with the demands of another myth--that of white superiority.

2. Refer students to the reading "People of the West" and ask if the environment that so influenced the Mountain Men had any influence on the attitudes toward and the treatment of Negroes?

Suggested Activities

1. Have students look for Negroes in TV and movie westerns and for mention of them in textbook chapters dealing with the post-Civil War West. The students might be encouraged to write to producers and publishers citing The Negro Cowboy as proof of the important role played by Negroes.

2. Enjoyable reading in class might be Nat Love, The Life and Adventures of Nat Love, Better Known in the Cattle Country as "Deadwood Dick", By Himself (Los Angeles: Wayside Press, 1907).

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
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OE-BR

STUDENT MANUAL

SOCIAL RELATIONS, PRE-CIVIL WAR

Larry Cuban
Cardozo High School
Washington, D. C.

This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
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THE LAND OF ABUNDANCE

The average Latin-American makes less than \$500 a year; the average income of Asians is less than that. Millions of people in Asia and Africa starve to death annually in these modern times. In America, however, more food is wasted every day than millions in other lands could ever eat. The average American earns more than ten times the income of most Asians, Africans, or Latin Americans. Truly, America is looked upon as a land of abundance. Of course, this is not to say that poverty doesn't exist; it does. But even if poverty exists amidst plenty, still the rest of the world considers America abundantly wealthy in income and resources.

And this foreign view is not a new one. Europeans have looked with envy upon the wealth of the New World as far back as the time of explorers who returned with tales of the riches to be found across the western waters.

Later on, colonials would nourish these tales by writing accounts of the fabulous natural wealth, climate, and surroundings of the new colonies. Travelers did their bit too by praising the New World upon their return. As you read the following account written by Gabriel Thomas, keep the following questions in mind:

1. According to Thomas, what would attract people of Europe to Pennsylvania? Be specific.
2. According to Thomas, what would discourage people of Europe from coming to Pennsylvania? Be specific.
3. What examples, if any, are there of exaggeration in the Thomas account?
4. Is this account of Pennsylvania true? Proof for your answer.

The air here is very delicate, pleasant, and wholesome; the Heavens. . . rarely overcast; after rain they have commonly a very clear sky, the Climate is something Colder in the depth of Winter; and Hotter in the height of Summer. . . than here in England, which means the Fruit so good and the Earth so Fertile.

The Corn-Harvest is ended before the middle of July, and most years they have commonly between Twenty and Thirty Bushels of Wheat for every one they sow. . . . Their Horses commonly go without being shod; two Men may clear between Twenty and Thirty Acres of Land in one Year fit for the Plough. Here is much Meadow Ground. Poor People both Men and Women, will get near three times more Wages for their Labour in this Country than they can earn either in England or Wales. . . .

They have great stocks both of Hogs and Horses, kept in the woods. I saw a Hog killed of about a year old that weighed Two Hundred weight; whose flesh is much sweeter, and even more luscious than that in England because they feed and fatten on the rich fruits besides those fattened at home on Peaches, Cherries and Apples. . . . Some farmers have forty, some sixty, and from that number to Two Hundred or Three Hundred head of cattle. . . . They are commonly fatter of Flesh and yield more Tallow than the cattle in England. And for the Sheep, they have a considerable number which are generally free from infectious diseases which are (common) to those Creatures in England as the Scab, Rot, or Maggots. They commonly bring forth two Lambs at once, some twice in one Year, and the Wool is very fine and thick and also very white. . . .

. . . there are an infinite number of Sea and Land Fowl, Ducks, Swans, as also Turkeys, Eagles, Pheasants, Partridges, etc. . . . And for Fish, there are prodigious quantities of most sorts as Herrings, Perch, Smelt, Eels, etc. As also the large sort of Fish as Whales (of which a great deal of Oil is made), Trout, Salmon, Oysters, Crabs, etc.

There are several sorts of wild Beasts of great profit and good food as, Panthers, Wolves, Deer, Beaver, Otter, Minks. . . .

The Industrious Inhabitants (of this colony) have built a Noble and Beautiful City, and called it Philadelphia which contains about two thousand Houses, all inhabited and most of them. . . of brick, generally three stories high, after the (style) of London. . . . It has in it three fairs every year, and two markets every week. . . . The City is situated between School-Kill River and the Great River Delaware. . . . Ships of Two or Three Hundred Tons may come up to this city, by either of these two Rivers. Moreover, in this province are Four Great Market-Towns, Chester, the German Town, New Castle and Lewis-Town. . . . Between these Towns, the water men constantly ply their ships. . . .

Now the True Reason why this Fruitful Country and. . . City advance so considerably. . . is their great and extended traffic and (trade) both by land and sea to New York, New England, Virginia, Mary-Land, Carolinas, Jamica, Bermudas, New-Foundland. . . and Old England. . . .

Their merchandise chiefly consists in horses, Pork and Beef salted. Bread and Flour, all sorts of Grain, Peas, Beans, Skins, Furs, Tobacco, etc. which are bartered for Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Silver, Negroes, Salt, Wine, Linen and Household Goods. . . .

Secondly, farther into the country is the principal place to trade with the Indians for all sorts of Pelt, as Skins and Furs. . . . Thirdly, Backwards in the country lies mines where Copper and Iron, besides other Metals and Minerals. . . which exceedingly promote traffic. . . .

I must say, even the present (facts) are very great and inviting for poor people (both men and women) of all kinds, since they can get three times the Wages for their labor they can in England. I shall give a few examples. . . . The first was a Blacksmith--my next door neighbor--who himself and one Negro man he had, got fifty shillings in one day, by working up a hundred pound weight of Iron. . . . And for Carpenters, both house and ship, Brick-layers, Masons. . . will get between Five and Six Shillings every day constantly. As for Journey-Men Shoe Makers they have Two shillings per Pair both for Mister and Miss Shoes. And Journeymen Tailors have Twelve shillings per Week and their Diet. . . . The Butchers for killing a Beast have Five shillings and their Diet. . . . The Brewers sell much Beer as is equal their strength to that in London. . . . And their Beer is in more esteem than English Beer in the Barbados Islands, and is sold for a higher price there. . . .

Corn and (meat) and what else serves Man for Drink, Food, and (clothes) is much cheaper here than in England. . . . But the chief reason why Wages of Servants of all sorts is much higher here than there, arises from the great fertility and Produce of the (land); besides, if these large (wages) were refused them, they would quickly set up for themselves, for they can have (food) very cheap and Land for a very small matter, or next to nothing in comparison of the Purchase of Lands in England.

(People of Pennsylvania) pay no Tithes and their Taxes are inconsiderable; the Place is free for all (religions) They live Friendly and Well together; there is no persecution for religion nor ever like to be. Before I end this paragraph I shall add another Reason why Women's Wages are so (high); they are not yet very numerous which makes them stand upon high terms for their several services,

in Washing, Spinning, Knitting, Sewing and in all other parts of their Employment Moreover they are usually Marry'd before they are Twenty Years of Age, and when once in that Noose, are for the most part a little uneasy and make their husbands so too, till they procure them a Maid Servant to bear the burden of the Work as also in some measure to wait on them too.

The Christian Children born here are generally well-favored and Beautiful to Behold; I never knew any come into the World with the least blemish on any part of its Body, being in the general, observed to be better Natured, Milder and more tender-hearted than those born in England. . . .

Reader, what I have here written, is not a Fiction nor. . . a design to (fool) the ignorant or (gain) favor of the rich and mighty; but (this is written) in mere Pity and pure Compassion to the Numbers of Poor Laboring Men, Women and Children in England, half-starved, that are continually wandering up and down looking for employment or reward for their Work. . . . Here are no Beggars to be seen. . . . Jealousy among Men is here very rare, and Barrenness among Women hardly to be heard of, nor are old Maids to be met with; for all commonly Marry before they are Twenty Years of Age, and seldom any young Married Woman but has a child in her Belly, or one upon her lap. . . .

What I have delivered concerning this Province is. . . true. I was an eye-witness to it all, for I went in the first ship that was bound from England for the Country since it received the name Pennsylvania which was in the year 1681. The Ship's name was the John and Sarah of London; Henery Smith was Commander. I have declined giving any Account of several things which I have only heard others speak of, because I did not see them myself. . . .

SOURCE: Gabriel Thomas, An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania in America . . . (London: 1698).

WAS THE BOSTON MASSACRE A MASSACRE?

Elementary school teachers have pounded into our heads the terrible slaughter that British grenadiers committed upon helpless Boston colonials. Junior High teachers repeated the procedure and by the time high school students study the Boston Massacre of 1770, the "facts" are the same--nothing has changed. Most students are bored, and rightly so; but now, let's look at this event from the viewpoint of two colonials both passionately attached to the cause of freedom and compare their eyewitness accounts with the "facts" we have learned over the past years. Before we do that, let's briefly review the events leading up to that March evening.

With the repeal of the Stamp Act, aroused tempers were calmed. These colonials who were alarmed at the thought of trouble with the mother country gained increased confidence in the months following the repeal of the hated law. But all was not calm beneath the surface. Those forces of discontent and resentment against English authority were still present. Many colonials did not easily forget the speeches of Patrick Henry, the resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, the boycotts, the Sons of Liberty, and the sporadic outbursts of violence. Nor did some colonials want their countrymen to forget.

Sam Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, and others actively urged colonials to be aware of British infringement of their rights. The English government unintentionally made their efforts easier.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, George Grenville was dismissed by the King as Prime Minister. George III appointed Charles Townshend, affectionately known as "Champagne Charlie" to take his place. Townshend, not wishing to repeat the errors of his predecessor, decided that the best type of tax to raise revenue in the colonies would be an external tax or one that taxed goods coming into the country. The colonials complained about internal taxes such as the Stamp Act, but certainly they would not have any complaint about this duty.

Therefore, in 1767, very small duties were levied on lead, glass, paint, tea and many other items imported to the colonies. If the tax law was passed, Townshend wanted to make sure that they were collected. Therefore commissioners sent from England and paid by England (why?) were sent to see that the tax was enforced and collected. Also, to enable these commissioners to do their job, writs of assistance were legalized. If Townshend hoped to improve upon Grenville, he certainly did exactly that. Colonial resistance to the Townshend program was just as intense and just as widespread. Acts of violence were common. The pattern of rebellion against the Stamp Act was re-enacted again.

An informer who told on a Boston smuggler was tarred, feathered, and dragged through the streets. A revenue boat was boarded, smashed and burnt by a Newport (Rhode Island) mob because it brought into harbor two vessels accused of smuggling. When the royal commissioners in Philadelphia seized 50 casks of Madiera wine on which duties had not been paid a mob assaulted them and stole the wine.

In June 1768 John Hancock's ship, the Liberty, docked at Boston with a cargo of wine. The collector who went on board to collect the tax was thrown into the cabin of the ship and most of the wine was taken off. Boycott associations were revived again.

As a result of such disturbances and widespread ignoring of the law, English troops were moved into Boston. Within this climate of opinion and deeds, the "Boston Massacre" took place. As you read keep in mind the following questions:

1. What were the events that took place on that Monday evening according to John Tudor and John Adams? We're not interested in their opinions yet, just the events that took place, the facts.
2. According to Tudor, who or what caused the "Massacre"? According to Adams, who or what caused the "Massacre"?
3. Both Tudor and Adams were colonials, patriots who wanted more freedom from British restrictions; yet they disagree as to what happened. Why is that?
4. What tentative conclusion could you reach about the quality of colonial justice from the verdict on the court trial of the British soldiers?

John Tudor Describes the "Massacre"

On Monday Evening. . . a few minutes after 9 O'Clock a most horrid murder was committed in King Street before the Customhouse Door by 8 or 9 soldiers under the command of Captain Thomas Preston. . . .

This unhappy affair began by some Boys & young fellows throwing Snow Balls at the sentry placed at the Customhouse Door. On which 8 or 9 Soldiers Came to his assistance. Soon after a Number of people collected, when the Captain commanded the Soldiers to fire, which they did and 3 Men were Killed on the Spot & several Mortally wounded, one of which died next morning. The Captain soon drew off his soldiers. . . or the Consequences might have been terrible, for on the guns firing the people were alarmed & set the Bells a Ringing as if for Fire, which drew Multitudes to the place of action. . . .The Governor desired the Multitude about 10 O'Clock to separate

& go home & he would do all in his power that Justice should be done, etc. . . . but the people insisted that the Soldiers should be ordered to their Barracks first before they would separate, Which being done the people separated about 1 'Clock. Captain Preston was taken up by a warrant given to the. . . Sheriff by Justice Dania and Tudor and came under Examination about 2 'Clock & we sent him to (jail) soon after 3 having Evidence sufficient to commit him on his ordering the soldiers to fire; So about 4 O'Clock the Town became quiet. The next forenoon the 8 Soldiers that fired on the inhabitants was also sent to (jail). Tuesday A.M. the inhabitants met at Faneuil Hall & after some pertinent speeches, chose a Committee of 15 Gentlemen to wait on the Lieutenant Governor in Council to request the immediate removal of the Troops. . . . His Honor's Reply was. Gentlemen I am extremely sorry for the unhappy difference & especially of the last Evening and Signifying that it was not in his power to remove the Troops.etc., etc.

The Above Reply was not satisfactory to the Inhabitants. . . . In the afternoon the Town Adjourned to Dr. Sewall's Meetinghouse, for Faneuil Hall was not large enough to hold the people, their being at least 3,000. . . when they chose a Committee to wait on the Lieutenant Governor to let him know that nothing less will satisfy the people, than a total & immediate removal of the Troops out of the Town. His Honor laid before the Council the Vote of the Town. The Council thereupon expressed themselves to be unanimously of opinion that it was absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, the good order of the Town etc. that the Troops Should be immediately removed out of the Town. His Honor communicated this advice of the Council to Colonel (in command) * desired he would order the Troops (removed). After the Colonel had seen the Vote of the Council He gave his Word & honor to the Town's Committee that both regiments should be removed. . . . The Committee returned to the Town Meeting & Mr. Hancock, chairman of the Committee read their Report as above, which was Received with a shout and clap of hands, which made the Meeting-house ring. So the Meeting was dissolved. . . .

Thursday. . . . The Inhabitants. . . followed to the Grave (for they were all buried in one) the 4 Bodies of Sam Gray, Sam Maverick, James Caldwell & Crispus Attucks, the unhappy Victims who fell in the Bloody Massacre. On this sorrowful occasion most of the shops & stores in Town were shut, all the Bells were ordered to toll a solemn peal in Boston. . . .

Captain Preston was tried for his Life on the affair. . . . October 24, 1770. The Trial lasted 5 Days, but the Jury brought him in not Guilty.

John Adams Defends British Soldiers

[The selection argues that the British soldiers were the targets of a riotous mob and fired for their own defense. They were challenged principally by Attucks, a mulatto, who led a band against them shouting "they dare not fire; kill them!"]

SOURCES: William Tudor (ed.) Deacon Tudor's Diary (Boston: 1896), 30-34.

Samuel B. Harding (ed.) Select Orations (Macmillan Co., New York, 1909), 14-18.

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:

A CASE STUDY

The following case study is fictitious but in many ways will remind you of what we have been studying about the American Revolution and its causes. Imagine yourself as a psychiatrist counseling the seventeen year old subject of the case study. Your main purpose is to have the youth understand why he moved away from his father after living with him for a short time when he was seventeen.

SUBJECT: Frank Harris

The subject was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and lived there during his childhood. At the age of thirteen he decided to leave home. His father, the only parent, agreed to this on the grounds that if the boy found a job he would contribute \$15 every week to his father's support. The subject agreed to this, and shortly after his arrival in Washington, he obtained a job at a car wash. The subject was tall and could pass for an older person.

After a few months the father visited the subject and continued to do this from time to time. These visits were very friendly; the father would often bring groceries or occasionally leave a \$5 bill. In the correspondence between father and son, the father would often tell the boy what he should and should not do. For example, he told the subject that he should be in his room by nine o'clock at night; that he should not smoke; that he shouldn't go to a pool room; and that he should increase his contribution by \$10 a week.

The subject did not observe all these rules. Some he felt were sensible and he obeyed; others he felt were unreasonable and he didn't follow them. For example, the subject did not increase his weekly sum by \$10 because he felt that he was giving enough. The father complained but did nothing.

After three years had passed, the subject had some difficulties. Two older fellows who had the room next to his in the boarding house began to torment and persecute him. They would ask him for small sums of money and if the subject refused to pay they would threaten him with physical violence. The boy wrote his father about these difficulties. The next week the father appeared. The subject and his father went to the room of these men and an argument began. Within a few

moments words turned into blows. The father, a giant of a man, with the help of the subject, severely beat the two men. The two men were taken to the hospital. In the process however, the father received a broken nose, broken arm, and a deep gash in his forehead. He too, was hospitalized for two weeks.

After the two men had recovered they moved away. When the father was released from the hospital, he received a bill for \$327. He brought the bill to the subject and asked him for help in paying it; that is, the boy should increase his weekly sum of money. The boy objected, he refused to pay. He felt that he should decide for himself whether he wanted to pay. He did not want to be ordered to pay.

The father, after being refused payment, decided to move in with his son and enforce all the rules that he had originally made a few years earlier. Also, the father went to the subject's employer--the owner of the car wash--and asked him to deduct a certain amount of money every week from the boy's paycheck to pay for the hospital bill. The employer was sympathetic to the father's story and agreed to deduct ten dollars a week.

After two weeks of this, the subject quit the job. With the small amount of savings he had, he was able to support himself for three months--not giving anything to his father.

One night, a few weeks later, father and son discussed the situation. The father agreed not to ask any employer to deduct wages, but he did say that he still had the right to make demands since Frank was his son. The youth said nothing.

The next year saw the boy obtain another job and the same demands were made by the father. Argument followed argument. The father demanded that the subject obey the rules set up earlier. Finally, six months later, after a prolonged spat over Frank's continuing to smoke, the father hit the youth. The son struck the father back.

The next day the subject packed his things and told the father that he was moving out. The boy got a job in another part of the city.

Some questions for the psychiatrist to ponder:

1. What was the immediate cause for Frank's leaving?
2. What was the underlying, or fundamental, cause for his leaving?
3. What connections are there between the 1763-1775 period of American History and the events of Frank's life?

SOURCE: Material written for this lesson by Larry Cuban.

THEY FOUGHT IN THE REVOLUTION

Consider some of the people who fought on the side of the colonials.

General Thomas Conway	Ireland
Count Pulaski	Poland
Colonel Thaddeus Kociusko	Poland
Baron Steuben	Germany
Baron DeKalb	Germany
Colonel Christian Febiger	Denmark
Marquis Lafayette	France
Colonel Armand	France
Comte De Rocheambeau	France
General William Montgomery	Britain
Francis Salvador	Jew
Haym Salomon	Jew

Of course, there were many others. Nevertheless, why did they fight? Historians find it difficult to pinpoint exactly why people do certain things. Who can really say, "This is the reason he did this." Because people are very complex, historians have to depend on hunches based upon the available evidence. In this case, these people--depending on the particular individual--may have fought for the excitement of a battle; or they may have fought for the sake of those ideals and principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence; possibly some fought to seek personal glory or fortune. Though finding out why is difficult, the fact remains they did come and, in many cases, died here. But the whole story hasn't been told yet.

Though many students have heard of Lafayette, how many know of Salem Poor or Peter Salem? Very few, indeed. Never as prominent as the French nobleman or the Prussian drillmaster, men like Salem Poor also helped in the fight for independence. Textbooks, unfortunately, have omitted the efforts of men like Poor; and thus, the Negro men and women

who fought in the American Revolution have not received the mention they so justly deserve. The red stripes of the first American flag did not stand for the blood shed of white men; it meant that Negroes had died too.

Let us examine the role played by Negroes in the fight for independence. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Why were Negroes refused the right to serve in the first months of the war? Why were they finally permitted to volunteer?
2. What part did Negroes play in the war?
3. What is the writer's opinion of the role of Negroes in the war? Evidence?
4. Why do you think very little information such as this is included in your textbook?

Negroes Fought Too

[The selection cites Negro heroes of the Revolution and discusses changes in attitude toward Negro soldiers in Washington's army. Negroes fought at Bunker Hill but were refused the right to enlist soon afterward; when the British used Negro troops, and after much of the Valley Forge force deserted, all men, white and Negro, slave and free, were welcome to join the Continental army.]

SOURCE: Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower* (Johnson Press, Chicago, 1963), 56-62.

WHO FIRED THE SHOT HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD?

Looking back, we have seen how the friction between the colonials and British increased and deepened after the French and Indian War. This was truly a turning point in the history of the British Empire. Decisions taken then by the British government shaped the course of events of the next decade. Consider how the pace of action by the British and the colonial reaction quickened following 1763: writs of assistance, Proclamation of 1763, Sugar Act of 1764, Stamp Act, Declaratory Act, Townshend's program of taxation, Boston Massacre, burning of the Gaspee, Boston Tea Party, Coercive Acts, Lexington and Concord. How about the colonial reaction to these events? Always protesting their loyalty and devotion to the King, always honoring the crown, always trying to protect their rights as Englishmen, militant colonials had boycotted, passed resolutions, met in Congresses, petitioned. They still committed acts of violence against the British Crown. They destroyed property; they tarred and feathered crown officials. They roughed up people who opposed their views.

What could the English do to halt these reactions? Use force? Use kindness? Compromise? The English government -- King and Parliament -- was truly perplexed. Some urged letting the colonies go; others called for a policy of Reconciliation. What to do?

The events at Lexington and Concord on a quiet April morning changed the atmosphere dramatically. British soldiers and colonial militia had taken the arguments and fired them at one another; bullets replaced words.

Some historians still debate the question: who fired the first shot? There were many eye-witnesses, some of whom wrote accounts of what happened. In a court room, eye-witness testimony can convict. Let's examine some of the testimony.

As you read the two accounts, consider the following questions:

1. Who fired first according to the colonial account?
According to the British? Underline the exact sentence or phrase in each account that states who fired first.
2. What is Colonel Smith's opinion of the colonials?
Evidence?
3. Upon what facts do both accounts agree?
4. Why don't the two accounts agree?

The Colonial View

[The account describes the seizure of a peaceful band of travelers by the British troops, and the resultant mustering of apprehensive "provincials" in Lexington. British troops were brought in to quell the native forces and atrocities are suggested. The writer protests the cruel treatment of those, like himself, "loyal and dutiful subjects" of the king.]

The British View: Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith to General Gage, April 22, 1775

[Smith, one of the British soldiers sent to subdue the insurgents in Lexington, describes finding "country people" in military formation on the green. When his troops approached peacefully, they were fired upon. The native soldiers fled, ill-treating British wounded en route, and continued to fire upon the British from safe positions along the road which the British then took to Boston.]

SOURCE: Commager, Documents of American History (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958), 89-90.

WHY GO WEST?

How many times have you moved in your life? It has been estimated that one of every five families in the United States this year will move. Americans have been packing and unpacking since the Mayflower touched Plymouth Rock.

From the Atlantic seaboard, across the Ohio valley, over the Appalachians, through the Mississippi valley, across the prairies, and on and on until the Pacific shore--men and women traveled and settled. Why? Why did easterners break all ties with their families, give up everything they knew, and risk innumerable dangers to move west? The readings for today will try to suggest some answers.

Three selections comprise the lesson. The first account is taken from a diary of a settler who knew Daniel Boone and who migrated into Kentucky in 1775. The second excerpt is taken from an Englishman's account of a family moving to Florida. The last part is a western song popular in the years before the Civil War. Consider the following questions as you read:

1. Why did the people in all of these selections move west? Be specific in each case you describe.
2. What dangers and risks confronted those who traveled west? Be specific.
3. Are there any present-day "frontiersmen" similar in spirit to those described who want to move, explore, etc.? Are risks involved? If you answer "no," does that mean that the westerners we have read about are more courageous than we are?

William Clark Moves West (1775)

fryday 7th - This morning is a very bad snowy morning we still continue at Camp being in the number about 40 men and some neagros. . . .

Saturday 8th - We all pack up and started crost Cumberland gap about one o'clock this Day Met a good maney peopel turned Back for fear of the Indians but our Company goes on still with good courage we come to a very ugly Creek with steep Banks and have it to cross several times on this Creek we camp this night. . . .

Monday 10th - this is a lowry morning and very like for Rain and we keep at Camp this day and some goes out a hunting and I and two more goes up a very large mountain near the tops we saw the tracks of two indians and whear they had lain under some rocks some of the company went over the River a bufelo hunting but found none. . . .

Fryday 14th - this is a clear morning with a smart frost we go on and have a very miry Road and camp this night on a creek. . . and are surprised at camp by a wolf. . . .

sunday 16th - cloudy and warm we start early and go on about 2 miles down the river and turn up a creek that we crost about 50 times some very bad foards with a great deal of very good land on it. . . .

Tuesday 18th - fair and cool and we go on about 10 o'clock we meet 4 men from Boons camp that caim to conduck us on we camp this night just on the Beginning of the good land. . . . they kill 2 bufelos this Eavening.

Wednesday 19th - smart frost this morning they kill 3 bufelos about 11 o'clock we come to where the indians fired on Boons company and killed 2 men and a dog and wounded one man in the thigh we campt this night on otter creek.

thursday 20th - this morning is clear and cool. We start early and git Down to caintuck (Kentucky) to Boons foart about 12 o'clock where we stop they come out to meet us and welcome us in with a voley of guns.

fryday 21st - warm this Day they begin laying off lots in the town and preparing for people to go to work to make corn.

Satterday 22nd - the finish laying out lots this Eavening I went a-fishing and caught 3 cats they meet in the night to draws for chois of lots this is a very warm day. . . .

Wednesday 26th - We begin Building us a house and a plaise of Defense to Keep the Indians off this day we being to live without bread. . . .

Satterday 29th - We git our house kivered with Bark and move our things into it at Night and begin housekeeping Eanock Smith Robert Whitledge and myself.

SOURCE: Thomas Speed, The Wilderness Road (Louisville, 1886), 36-38.

Going to Florida (1827-1828)

During the morning's drive, we overtook several bodies of migrants. . . proceeding with all their worldly goods, according to the usual tide of these matters in this country, from East to West, or rather to be quite correct, from North-east to Southwest--from Virginia and Maryland to Florida, Georgia, and Alabama.

The first party consisted of a planter and his wife, accompanied by his brother-in-law and family, a whole troop of children--and some forty or fifty slaves of all ages and sizes.

We stopped, of course, and conversed for some time with the principal person who was on his way, he said, to Florida with his whole establishment. The second party of emigrants . . . were on the march. It was smaller than the other, and did not consist of above thirty persons in all, of whom five and twenty at least were slaves. The women and children were stowed away in wagons, moving slowly up a sandy hill In the rear of all came a light, covered vehicle, with the master and mistress of the party. Along the roadside, scattered at intervals, we observed the male slaves trudging in front. At the top of all . . . two men walked together, apparently hand-in-hand, pacing along. . . . There was something, however, in their attitude which seemed unusual and constrained. When we came nearer. . . we discovered that this couple were bolted together by a strong, short chain, . . . secured round the wrists. . . .

I stopped the carriage, and asked one of the slave drivers why these men were chained. . . . The answer explained the mystery. One of the men, it appeared, was married, but his wife belonged to a neighboring planter, not his master. When the general move was made, the proprietor of the female not choosing to part with her, she was necessarily left behind. The wretched husband was therefore shackled to a young man (unmarried) who, having no such ties to draw him back, might be more safely trusted on the journey.

We arrived in the evening at Columbia, the seat of the government of South Carolina. In the course of the next morning, while we were sitting in the public parlor at the hotel, a party came in, which we soon recognized as belonging to one

of the groups of wanderers we had overtaken the day before. While I was hesitating whether or not I might take the liberty of introducing myself, -- for I was curious to know their history -- the door opened and a gentleman came forward who claimed the chief of the party for his brother. After shaking hands very cordially. . . stepped back. . . and nodding his head slowly for some time, broke out thus -- "Well! this is the strangest resolution for a man of your years to take into his head! Why, where are you going?"

"I am going to Florida, to be sure."

"To Florida!" cried the other; "what on earth takes you there?"

"Oh," said the migrant, "it is the finest country in the world--a delightful climate--rich soil--plenty of room!"

"Have you been there?" asked his brother.

"No, not yet," said the wanderer; "but I know all about it."

"Know all about it! Why you'll be drowned in some creek before you get there."

"No, I shan't, though," retorted the traveler, taking the words in their literal sense, "there is no fear of that, as all the (rivers) are bridged."

"Well, well," cried the brother, laughing, "you must have your own way, I suppose. But, pray tell me, what have you done with your estate in Maryland, on which you were fixed when I last got tidings of you--about four years ago, I think it was?"

"I've sold that property."

"What, all?"

"Yes, all, every inch of it, and I have brought away every movable thing with me. Here we are, you see--my wife, my son there, and my daughter--all my slaves, too, my furniture, horses, and so forth."

"And now, pray, answer me this question--were you not well off where you were located before--had you not plenty of good land?"

"Oh, yes, plenty."

"Did you, in fact," continued his cross-questioner--"did you want for anything under the sun?"

"I can't say I did."

"What, then, possesses you to go seeking for a fresh place in such a country as Florida, where you must be content to take up quarters amongst the tadpoles and mosquitoes?"

While the hardy rover was puzzling himself in search of a reasonable answer, his wife took up the discourse, and, half in joke, half in earnest, said, "it is all for the mere love of moving. We have been doing so all our lives--just moving from place to place--never resting--as soon as ever we get comfortably settled, then it is time to be off to something new."

"Yes, I know my brother's rambling disposition well; but why don't you prevent him, madam?"

"Ah, my dear sir," sighed the lady, "You don't know what it is to be married to a gadding husband. . . ."

But the . . . interrogator went on in these words, --
"Well, well, after all, you understand your own matters best, I suppose; but I should like to know what sort of scrape you will be in, if you find Florida sickly and bad in other respects."

"Oh, no," cried the pioneer of the wilderness, "not a bit of a scrape."

"What will you do then?"

"Why, move along westward, to be sure--and if I don't find anything to suit me by the way, in the State of Georgia or Alabama, I can easily put my whole establishment, wife and children, furniture, slaves, and other articles, on board of a steamboat and proceed up the Mississippi."

"And where will you land?"

"Indeed, I do not know, and, for that matter, I don't much care. It is a wide, empty country, with a soil that yields such noble crops, that any man is sure to succeed go where he will."

"Ay, ay! I see it's no use talking. However, you must come with me, you and all your family and pass some time with me at my house--for we shall never meet again. . . ."

But the wanderer said he could not stop; a night's delay would lose him a hundred dollars, besides the time, neither of which he could spare. So they separated as they had met.

SOURCE: Basil Hall, Travels in North America in the Years 1827-1828 (Edinburgh, 1829), 126-133.

Western Songs

Sweet Betsy From Pike

Did you ever hear tell of sweet Betsy from Pike,
Who cross'd the wide prairies with her lover, Ike?
With two yoke of cattle and one spotted hog,
A tall Shanghai rooster and an old yaller dog. . . .

They swam the wild rivers and climbed the tall peaks,
And camped on the prairies for weeks upon weeks
Starvation and cholera, hard work and slaughter,
They reached Californy, spite of hell and high water. (Chorus)

They soon reached the desert where Betsy gave out,
And down in the sand she lay rolling about,
While Ike in great wonder looked in surprise,
Sayin', 'Get up now, Betsy, you'll get sand in your eyes.' (Chorus)

The Indians come down in a wild yelling horde,
And Betsy got skeered they would scalp her adored,
So behind the front wagon wheel Betsy did crawl,
And fought off the Indians with musket and ball. (Chorus)

They stopped off at Salt Lake to inquire the way,
And Brigham declared that sweet Betsy should stay,
But Betsy got frightened and ran like a deer,
While Brigham stood pawing the ground like a steer. (Chorus)

One morning they climbed up a very high hill,
And with wonder looked down upon old Placerville,
Ike shouted and said as he cast his eyes down,
'Sweet Betsy, my darlin', we've got to Hangtown.' (Chorus)

Long Ike and Sweet Betsy attended a dance,
Where Ike wore a pair of his Pike County pants,
And Betsy was covered with ribbon and rings,
Quoth Ike, 'You're an angel, but where are your wings?' (Chorus)

A miner said, 'Betsy, will you dance with me?'
'I will that, Old Hoss, if you don't make too free,
But don't dance me hard, do you want to know why?
Doggone ye, I'm chock full of strong alkali.' (Chorus)

Long Ike and Sweet Betsy got married, of course,
But Ike, getting jealous, obtained a divorce
While Betsy, well satisfied, said with a shout,
'Goodby, you big lummo, I'm glad you backed out.'

THE PEOPLE OF THE WEST

Men and women moved westward for many reasons. Some had a vision of a Garden of Eden, a land of abundance; some saw opportunities, both financial and adventurous. Back East, these people believed, such opportunities were unavailable. Others moved west out of sheer restlessness. Whatever the motive, the frontier moved relentlessly westward.

But who were the people that moved? Who were these westerners, these frontiersmen? Television confuses us. If you watch "Bonanza," the Cartwrights are ranchers. "Wagon Train" and "Trailmaster" portray emigrant farmers seeking choice land in Oregon and California. Watch "Death Valley Days" and you'll see fur trappers, farmers, cowboys, and others. In the "Virginian," cowboys and ranchers predominate. Daniel Boone, in the program of that name, is part-farmer and part-hunter. Finally, "Bat Masterson" and "Gunsmoke" reveal gamblers, marshalls, lawyers, storekeepers, bankers, and farmers. Who, then, are the frontiersmen? All? Some? Or are there different types of frontiers? As you read the selections for today on the west, keep in mind the following questions:

1. What are the four classes of frontiersmen, according to the English traveler. Remember the place is the Ohio Valley in 1818. Where do the Mountain Men and gold seekers fit into these classes?
2. How did conditions on the frontier influence Mountain Men? Gold prospectors? Farmers? Be specific.
3. What characteristics did frontiersmen have, according to these selections?
4. Was there one frontier or were there more in the westward movement? Whatever your answer is, name the frontier or frontiers.

An Englishman Describes The Frontier (1818)

The next selection was written by an Englishman traveling through the Ohio Valley. Mr. Elias Fordham gives his impressions of this frontier and the westerners that lived there.

The people who live on these frontiers may be divided into four classes. . . 1st--the hunters, a daring hardy race of men who live in miserable cabins, which they fortify in times of war with the Indians, who they hate but much resemble in dress and manners. They are unpolished, but hospitable, kind to Strangers, honest and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs and sometimes a Cow or two, and two or three horses belonging to each family. But their rifle is their principal means of support. They are the best marksmen in the world, and such is their dexterity that they will shoot an apple off the head of a companion. Some use the bow and arrows. . . . Their wars with the Indians have made them vindictive. This class cannot be called settlers, for they move every year or two.

2nd class. First settlers--a mixed set of hunters and farmers. They possess more property and comforts than the first class; they are a half-barbarous race. They follow the range pretty much; selling out when the country begins to be well settled, and their cattle cannot be entirely kept in the woods.

3rd class.--is composed of enterprising men from Kentucky and Atlantic States. This class consists of young doctors, lawyers, Storekeepers, farmers, and mechanics who found towns, trade, speculate in land, and begin the fabric of society. . . . The general tone of social manners is yet too much relaxed. There is too much reliance upon personal strength, and the laws have not yet acquired sufficient energy to prevent violence. . . .

4th class--old settlers, rich, independent farmers, wealthy merchants. . . . The young men have a military taste. . . . They were great duelists, but now the laws against dueling are more strictly enforced; they carry knives and sometimes settle a dispute on the spot. . . .

You will perceive from this slight sketch which I have made as impartially as I am able, that the backwoods men. . . are admirably suited by nature and education for the scenes they live and act in. The prominent feature of their character is power. The young value themselves on their courage, the

old on their shrewdness. The villains have something grand about them. They expect no mercy and they show no fear.

As social comforts are less under the protection of the laws here, friendship and good neighbors are more valued. . . . I wish I could give you a correct idea of the perfect equality that exists among these people. A judge leaves the Court house, shakes hands with his fellow citizens and retires to his loghouse. The next day you will find him holding his own plow. The lawyer has the title of Captain and serves in his military capacity under his neighbor who is a farmer and a colonel. . . .

I have not seen an effeminate or a feeble man in mind or body. . . . The most ignorant, compared with men of the same standing in England are well informed. Their manners are coarse; but they have among themselves a code of politeness which they generally observe. Drinking whiskey is the greatest pest. . . . When intoxicated by it, they sometimes fight most furiously. . . .

SOURCE: Elias P. Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and a Residence in the Illinois Territory, 1817-1818 (Arthur Clark Co., 1906), 125-129 passim.

The Mountain Men

[The selection explains that "Mountain Men" in order to survive had to adopt the ways of the "savage" in matters of fighting, eating, communicating, and accepting the deaths of friends and foe. Examples are given.]

SOURCE: Ray Allen Billington, The Far Western Frontier (1830-1860) (Harper & Bros., 1956), 44-54 passim.

Digging Gold

Let's move further westward, to the goldfields of California. What was the westerner like here? Bayard Taylor wrote letters back east for the New York Tribune where he described the rich Mokelumne Diggings.

The boat. . . put me ashore. . . at the foot of a steep bank (He landed in San Francisco in 1849). . . . Many of the passengers began speculation at the moment of landing. The most ingenious and successful operation was made by a gentleman of New York, who took fifteen hundred copies of the Tribune and other papers, which he disposed of in two hours, at one dollar apiece! Hearing of this I (remembered) about a dozen papers which I had used to fill up crevices in packing my valise. There was a newspaper merchant at the corner of the City Hotel and to him I proposed the sale of them, asking him to name a price. "I shall want to make a good profit on the retail price," said he, "and can't give more than ten dollars for the lot." I was satisfied with the wholesale price, which was a gain of four thousand per cent! . . .

It may be interesting to give here a few instances of the enormous and unnatural value put upon property at the time of my arrival. The Parker House rented for \$110,000 yearly, at least & 60,000 of which was paid by gamblers, who had rented all the second story. . . . A mercantile house paid \$40,00 rent for a one-story building of twenty feet front. . . . A friend of mine who wished to find a place for a law-office, was shown a cellar in the earth about twelve feet square and six deep which he could have for \$250 a month. . . .

The prices paid for labor were in proportion to everything else. . . . Servants were paid from \$100 to \$200 a month (back East, servants could expect \$10 to \$30 a month). . . the wages of the rougher kinds of labor had fallen to about \$8. Yet, notwithstanding the number of gold-seekers who were returning enfeebled and disheartened from the mines it was difficult to obtain as many workmen as the forced growth of the city demanded. . . .

Business was over about the usual hour and then the harvest time of the gamblers commenced. Every "hell" in the place, and I did not pretend to number them, was crowded, and immense sums were staked on the monte and faro tables. A boy of fifteen, in one place, won about \$500, which he coolly pocketed and carried off. One of the gang we brought in. . . won \$1500 in the course of the evening and another lost \$2400. A fortunate miner made himself conspicuous by betting large piles of ounces (of gold) on a single throw. His last stake of 100 ounces was lost and I saw him the following morning dashing through the streets trying to break his own neck or that of the magnificent (horse) he bestrode. . . .

Dr. Gillette. . . related to me the manner of his finding the rich gulch which attracted so many to the Mokelumne Diggings. . . . One day at noon, while resting in the shade of a tree, Dr. G. took a pick and began carelessly turning up the ground. Almost on the surface, he struck and threw out a lump of gold about two pounds' weight. Inspired by this unexpected result,

(a companion and Gillette) both went to work, laboring all that day and the next and even using part of the night to quarry out the heavy pieces of rock. At the end of the second day they went to the village on the upper Bar and weighed their profits, which amounted to fourteen pounds! They started again the third morning under the pretense of hunting, but were suspected and followed by the other diggers, who came upon them just as they commenced to work. The news spread rapidly and there was soon a large number of men on the spot some of whom obtained several pounds per day, at the start. The gulch had been well dug up for the large lumps, but there was still great wealth in the earth and sand, and several operators only waited for the wet season to work it in a systematic manner. . . .

From all I say and heard, while at the Mokelumne Diggings, I judged there was as much order and security as could be attained without a civil organization. The inhabitants had elected one of their own number Alcade (similar to a Mayor), before whom all culprits were tried by a jury selected for the purpose. Several thefts had occurred and the offending parties been severely punished after a fair trial. Some had been whipped or cropped (their ears cut off), or maimed in some other way, and one or two of them hung. Two or three who had stolen largely had been shot down by the injured party, the general feeling among the miners justifying such a course when no other seemed available. We met near Livermore's Ranch. . . a man whose head had been shaved and his ears cut off, after receiving one hundred lashes for stealing ninety-eight pounds of gold. It may conflict with popular ideas of morality, but nevertheless, this extreme course appeared to have produced good results. In fact, in a country without not only bolts and bars, but any effective system of law and order, this. . . severity of discipline seemed the only security against the most frightful disorder. The result was that, except some petty acts of larceny, thefts were rare. . . .

SOURCE: Bayard Taylor, El Dorado (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), 56-101 passim.

My Government Claim

Though the following song applies to settlers in the post-Civil War period, it still focuses on the real conditions of the West, especially the West of the homesteader or farmer who received 160 acres from the government for a small fee if he lived on it for five years.

1. My name is Tom Hight, an old bachelor I am,
You'll find me out west in the county of fame,
You'll find me out west on an elegant plan,
A-starvin' to death on my Government claim.
2. Hurrah for Greer County, the land of the free,
The land of the bedbug, grasshopper and flea,
I'll sing of its praises, I'll tell of its fame,
While starvin' to death on my Government claim.
3. My house it is built out of National soil,
Its walls are erected according to Hoyle,
Its roof has no pitch, but is level and plain,
I always get wet if it happens to rain.
4. My clothes are all ragged, my language is rough,
My bread is corndodgers, both solid and tough,
But yet I am happy and live at my ease,
On sorghum molasses, and bacon and cheese.
5. How happy I am when I crawl into bed,
A rattlesnake hisses a tune at my head,
A gay little centipede all without fear,
Crawls over my pillow and into my ear.
6. Now all you claimholders I hope you will stay,
And chew your hardtack till you're toothless and grey,
But as for myself I'll no longer remain
To starve like a dog on my Government claim.
7. Farewell to Greer County, farewell to the West,
I'll travel back east to the girl I love best,
I'll travel to Texas and marry me a wife,
Cry quits on corndodgers the rest of my life.
8. Goodbye to Greer County, where blizzards arise,
Where the sun never sinks and the flea never dies,
And the wind never ceases, but always remains,
Till it starves us all out on our Government claims.

THE INDIAN: CLASH OF CULTURES

If some colonials could, through a miracle of science, watch television or see a Hollywood movie portraying Indians, they would be surprised. In many western movies, the Indian is portrayed as a noble savage; he is strong, silent, honorable and courageous. Yet, during the colonial period the only "good" Indian was a dead one. Why the change in attitude?

Some social scientists have pointed out that Americans tend to glorify the past. As the frontier moved westward and Indian conflict became only a memory to easterners, Americans forgot scalpings; they forgot Indian ambushes; and they also forgot how they deceived and massacred Indians.

Instead, Americans began to romanticize the past, glorify life on the rugged frontier. They forgot about the "bad" Indians--remembering only their "good" qualities. And this is not peculiar. Psychologists have pointed out how people tend to forget the unpleasant, while remembering the pleasant.

This psychological shift in attitudes is what really makes history fascinating detective work. Indians and colonials did get along, in certain instances. John Smith and Pocahontas, as well as the Indians who helped the Pilgrims through their first winter at Plymouth, are examples.

Apparently then, all contact between colonials and Indians was not bloody. Yet, even with these exceptions, looking back, it can safely be said that the longest war that America has ever fought has been the three hundred year conflict with the Indians. Why these massacres,

ambushes, exterminations of white and red men? The readings for today will try to shed some light on those questions. As you read think of the following questions:

1. What is John Lawson's opinion of Indians? Proof?
2. What is Mary Rowlandson's opinion of Indians? Proof?
3. What is True Son's and his comrades' opinions of Indians as compared to colonials?
4. Why do all these opinions differ?
5. On the basis of these selections, why do you think there was continual warfare between Indians and colonials during these years? Evidence?

John Lawson Describes The Indians (c. 1700)

[The selection describes the Indians of North Carolina as dexterous, well-made, pleasure-loving, and clean, though not overly robust or industrious.]

SOURCE: John Lawson, History of Carolina in Commager and Nevins, Heritage of America (D. C. Heath, 1939), 89-93.

Indians Capture White Woman

(The event described below occurred on the Massachusetts' frontier. Mary was about 40 years old at the time. She was a prisoner for 11 weeks and was finally ransomed for twenty pounds sterling.)

On the 10th of February, 1875, came the Indians with great numbers. . . . Their first coming was about sunrise. Hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several houses were burning, and the smoke ascended to heaven. There were five persons taken in one house; the father and mother and a suckling child they knocked on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive. There were two others, who being out of the other garrison upon some occasion, were set upon; one was knocked on the head, the other escaped. Another there was who, running along was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them money (as they told me), but they would not harken to him, but knocked him in the head, and stripped him naked, and split open his bowels. Another, seeing many of the Indians around his barn

ventured and went out, but was quickly shot down. There were three others belonging to the same garrison who were killed; the Indians, getting upon the roof of the barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their fortification. Thus, these murderous wretches went on burning and destroying before them. . . .

At length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. . . . Now is the dreadful hour come that often I have heard of, but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives others wallowing in their blood, they set the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, "Lord, what shall we do?" Then I took my children. . . . to go forth and leave the house, but as soon as we came to the door and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken a handful of stones and threw them, so that we were forced to give back. . . . But out we must go, the fire increasing and coming along behind us roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets, to devour us. No sooner were we out of the house but my brother-in-law (being before wounded in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, whereat the Indians scornfully shouted and halloed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his clothes. The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as would seem) through the bowels and hand of my dear child in my arms. One of my elder sister's children had then his leg broke which the Indians perceiving they knocked him on the head.

Thus we were butchered by those merciless heathen, standing amazed with the blood running down to our heels. My eldest sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woeful sights, the infidels hauling away the mothers one way and the children another, and some wallowing in their blood; and her elder son telling her that her son William was dead and myself was wounded, she said, and "Lord let me die with them," which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead. . . . I had often said that if the Indians should come, I should choose rather to be killed by them than taken alive, but when it came to the trial, my mind changed, their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those ravenous bears, than that moment to end my days. . . .

Now away we must go with those barbarous creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill, within sight of the town, where they intended to lodge. . . . This was the dolefullest night that ever mine eyes saw. Oh, the roaring and the singing, and dancing and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell. And as miserable was the waste that was

made of horses, cattle, sheep, lambs, and roasting pits, and fowl (which they had plundered in the town), some roasting, some lying and burning, and some boiling to feed our merciless enemies. . . . To add to the dolefulness . . . my thoughts ran upon my lost children.

There remained nothing to me but one poor, wounded babe, and it seemed at present worse than death, that it was in such a pitiful condition. Little do many think what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous enemy--aye, even those that seem to profess more than others among them--when the English have fallen into their hands.

SOURCE: Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (1903).

The next selection is taken from Conrad Richter's novel THE LIGHT IN THE FOREST. It is the story of John Butler, captured in an Indian raid and adopted by the Lenni Lenape tribe when he was four years old. His now Indian father re-named him True Son and reared him as his son. At the age of 15 the Indians made a treaty to return all white captives and True Son had to return to his real mother and father. Brought up as an Indian True Son hated the idea of returning to the white man's way of life. Thus, when he was to return, he tried to run away. Caught and tied up, he realized that he must go back to a way of life that he had come to hate. On the trip to Fort Pitt where his real father would meet him, two Indian comrades caught up with him and stayed with him for part of the journey. At one point on the trip they discuss their ways of the colonials. . . .

Indians Discuss Colonials

[In their conversation the youths discuss various attributes of "white men:" myopia, poor hearing, noisiness, queer appearance and action. The deficiencies are seen to result from the mixed origins and "newness" of the white race. The reading ends with the confrontation of True Son with his English-speaking family in which he denies the legitimacy of their ties.]

SOURCE: Conrad Richter, The Light in the Forest (Alfred Knopf, 1953), passim.

WHY WERE AFRICANS ENSLAVED?

A few years ago a teacher asked his American History class why the African was enslaved. Some answers were: "They didn't love freedom as much as Indians did." "They weren't as intelligent as whites." These answers are inaccurate; they are only a few of the myths people have used to explain the origin of slavery. Let's take a brief look at the colonial period and seek some answers.

Fundamentally, slavery and other forms of bondage in colonial American existed for one reason: to fulfill the need for a cheap, reliable source of labor. Land had to be cleared; crops had to be planted and cultivated; towns had to be built. From England and Europe came men, women, and children who had contracted to work for several years in payment for their passage or for some other reason. These indentured servants were an unreliable source of labor, however. Once their contracts were completed they left the farms and became landowners themselves or worked as skilled craftsmen. In some parts of the Americas, Indians were put to work on plantations, but when Negroes were brought to the colonies from Africa they were preferred as laborers to Indians.

The first Africans who were brought to America, like the indentured servants, were unfree for only a few years--not for life. However, in 1664 the Maryland Legislature ruled that Africans must serve their masters for the rest of their lives. In 1669 a Virginia law stated that Negroes were chattel property. But 1669 was a half-century after the first slaves set foot on colonial soil. These facts raise the obvious question:

If some whites, Africans and Indians were in bondage in the first half of the seventeenth century, why did only Africans become slaves for life?

Textbooks don't help us in finding answers. One eighth grade American History text says:

[The selection explains that slavery was known in America before the arrival of Columbus. Spanish efforts to enslave Indians were unsuccessful; Negroes proved more "enduring." Slavery occurred in English colonies also.]

No real answers are given. Why did Indians die in slavery and not Africans? Didn't Africans run away too? What does "enduring" mean? Questions such as these must be answered, if for no other reason than to find out if the myths we have been raised upon have any truth to them at all.

The readings for today attempt to suggest some possible answers to the questions raised. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. How did Cinque make a living? Were the ways that Cinque and his people made a living similar or different from the ways colonials earned a living? Be specific.
2. Did Cinque want to become a slave? Were Africans involved in the slave trade?
3. What feelings about slavery and those people who held slaves are contained in the poems? Consider the answers given by high school students in the first paragraph of the introduction. Does the reading suggest any evidence to the contrary? How?

The following selection is taken from a biography of Cinque, an African chief, who led a mutiny on board the Portuguese ship "Amistead" and eventually gained his freedom--returning to West Africa. Though

the events took place in the 19th century, Cinque's description of his life is accurate enough for the colonial period.

Cinque Becomes a Slave

[The passage first describes Cinque, the son of the headman, a man "tall and erect," whose mind on this occasion was "full of planting and trading." While returning from the fields Cinque was seized by three strangers who dragged him mercilessly away from his land and turned him over to the Portuguese who enslaved him.]

SOURCE: William Owens, Slave Mutiny (John Day, 1953), 15-18.

From An Anthology of African Verse

Celui Qui a Tout Perdu
(The Loser)

[In the first stanza, the poem extolls the beauty and happiness of a pastoral life; in the second, it bemoans the coming of the conquerors and the end of innocence.]

David Diop

Le Temps du Martyr
(Martyr)

[The poem describes succinctly the acts of the "White Man" in his conquest of the poet's land.]

David Diop

Nuit de Sine
(Night in Senegal)

[The poet invokes the memory and spirit of his ancestral Africa, and finds solace in his thoughts, a woman and the night.]

Leopold S. Senghor

SOURCE: Olumbe Bassir, Anthology of West African Verse (Badan University Press, Nigeria, 1957), 53, 54, 39.

SLAVERY ITEENAGER DON BARRETT SPEAKS HIS MIND

Bombings in Birmingham. Sit-ins. Freedom Riders. The March on Washington. Selma. Civil Rights Law. For the past decade we have experienced what many writers have called the Negro Revolution. Yet some people have asked what does the Negro have to complain about. Don't Negroes earn more money than people in other parts of the world? Aren't Negroes better off in America than, say, Africa? The answer to both questions is, of course, yes. But comparing the relative position of Negroes to people in other parts of the world misses the point: How well off are Negroes compared to other Americans? Have Colored Americans had the opportunities that their fellow citizens have had?

President John F. Kennedy eloquently answered that question, when he said:

[The selection gives statistics on the prospects of the Negro child in the areas of education, employment and life expectancy.]

To state where the Negro is in American life is very different from uncovering why the Negro occupies an inferior position. To many people, the white man's prejudice and discrimination are explanation enough. To others, the Negro himself is thought to be both cause and result of his condition. And there are those who look to the past for answers, in this case, 300 years of enslavement of the Negro. What is the answer?

For the first lesson in our unit, let's listen to an intelligent Southern teenager's answers. The opinions of Don Barrett, a high-honor high school graduate on a scholarship to the University of Mississippi,

were given in an interview with a New York Times reporter. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Is Barrett in favor of integration? What are his reasons?
2. How can Barrett think well of Allie May and Amelia yet hold certain opinions of all Negroes?
3. How does Barrett explain exceptional Negroes like Gaston?
4. According to Barrett, what has the South done for the Negro? How should the "Negro Problem" be solved according to him?

[In the selection Barrett describes his contact with Negro neighbors and domestic help. He contends that Negroes are inherently inferior; he cites as evidence the failure of Negroes to adopt the ways of the more advanced cultures with which they have had contact. He challenges the "right" to vote, and criticizes integrated schools and federal aid to Negroes.]

SOURCE: Margaret Long, "A Southern Teenager Speaks His Mind," New York Times Magazine, (November 10, 1963), 15, 114-116.

SLAVERY II

HOW TWO ENGLISH PERSONS SAW SLAVERY

The opinions of Don Barrett find acceptance and rejection on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. At this point, it is unimportant whether what he says is true or false; what is important is to find out, if possible, where his opinions have their source. And in doing so, we may well answer our original question: why does the Negro occupy an inferior position in American life?

The best place to begin our historical investigation is with the Southern plantation system before the Civil War. Immediately, however, we are confronted by one of the most difficult questions for historians to answer: what was the life of the slave like?

Was the slave a docile, contented, happy-go-lucky individual who spent his free time singing spirituals around a camp fire or was he a rebellious, rough, surly fellow who hated slavery? Did cruel beatings and impossibly crude working conditions scar the slave or was he treated kindly and considerately, possibly better than peasants in other countries? Did slaves on all plantations live in the same manner or were living and working conditions different from one master to another?

These questions are not easily answered. The answers are hard to come by because the sources of information are not completely reliable. We have available plantation records and diaries, the accounts of ex-slaves and the observations of travelers; but each of these sources in one way or another reflects the prejudices and background of the writer.

Also making it difficult to reach conclusions about slavery are a few facts concerning plantations and slaves. Consider that on the eve of the Civil War about 4,000,000 slaves were held in the South by about 400,000 slaveholders. To put it another way, less than ten percent of all whites owned the 4,000,000. And even in that number of slaveholders, not all owned large groups of slaves. Of every ten planters, only one had more than twenty slaves. The picture most of us have of a large plantation house with tall white columns and cotton fields stretching out as far as the eye can see was the exception. Most Southern slaveholders had less than twenty slaves; many small farms had one or two bondsmen. (It is of interest to know that there were some free Negroes who owned plantations and slaves; the number was quite small, however.)

Thus, the problems of reaching conclusions about slavery are, indeed, large ones. Nevertheless, let us attempt the job. The next three readings will be drawn from primary sources, white and Negro. Today you will read of two English travelers and their description of slavery. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is Lyell's opinion of slavery? Evidence?
2. What is Kemble's view of slavery? Evidence from reading?
3. Why does Lyell's description of slave houses, hospitals, and slave life differ from Kemble's description? Is one lying? Proof?
4. Do either of the two writers reveal their prejudice or bias for or against slavery through their choice of words? Proof?

Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) was a renowned lecturer, writer, and geologist who visited the United States in 1841, 1848, 1852, and 1853. Educated at Oxford, Lyell tried various vocations before deciding to spend the rest of his life in travel and research into the nature of the structure of the earth. In the course of one of his trips, he toured the Hopeton plantation in Georgia, and wrote the following description:

A Britisher Views Slavery in Georgia

There are 500 Negroes on the Hopeton estate, a great many of them are children, and some old. . . . The latter class, who would be supported in a poor house in England, enjoy here, to the end of their days, the society of their neighbours and kinfolk and live at large in separate houses assigned to them. The children have no regular work to do until they are ten or twelve years old. We see that some of them at this season are set to pick up dead leaves from the paths, that others are attending babies. When the mothers are at work, the young children are looked after by an old Negress called Mom Diana. . . .

The outdoor laborers have separate houses provided for them, even the domestic servants, except a few who are nurses to the white children, live apart from the great house. . . . The laborers begin work at six o'clock in the morning, have an hour's rest at nine for breakfast and many have finished their assigned tasks by two o'clock, all of them by three o'clock. In the summer they divide their work differently, going to bed in the middle of the day, then rising to finish their tasks, and afterwards spending a greater part of the night in merry-making, chatting, preaching and singing. . . . At Christmas they claim a week's holiday, when they hold a kind of celebration . . . and the owners can get no work done. Although there is scarcely any drinking, the master rejoices when this season is well over without mischief. The negro houses are as neat as the greater part of the cottages in Scotland (no flattery, it must be admitted), are provided with a back door and a hall, as they call it, in which is a chest, a table, two or three chairs, and a few shelves for crockery. On the door of the sleeping apartment they keep a large wooden padlock, to guard their valuables from their neighbours when they are at work in the fields, for there is much pilfering among them. . . .

We visited the hospital at Hopeton, which consists of three separate wards, all perfectly clean and well-ventilated. One is for men, one for women, and a third for lying-in women. The latter are always allowed a month's rest after their confinement, a privilege rarely enjoyed by hardworking English peasant women. . . .

The Negro mothers are often so indolent or ignorant, they cannot be trusted to keep awake and administer medicine to their own children; so that the mistress of the plantation has often to sit up all night with a sick negro child. In submitting to this, they are actuated by mixed motives--a feeling of kindness, and a fear of losing the services of the slaves; but these attentions greatly attach the negroes to their owners. In general, they refuse to take medicine from any other hands but those of their master or mistress. The laborers are allowed corn meal, rice and milk, and occasionally pork and soup. As their rations are more than they can eat, they either return part of it to the overseer, who makes them an allowance of money for it at the end of the week, or they keep it to feed their fowl, which they usually sell, as well as their eggs, for cash, to buy molasses, tobacco, and other luxuries. When disposed to exert themselves, they go through the day's tasks in five hours, and then amuse themselves in fishing . . . or make canoes, which they can sell for about four dollars profit. . . .

One day, while walking alone, I came upon a gang of negroes digging a trench. They were superintended by a black driver, who held a whip in his hand. . . . Their mode of proceeding in their tasks was somewhat leisurely, and eight hours a day of this work are exacted, though they can accomplish the same in five hours. . . . That the whip is used . . . is, I have no doubt, true on all well-governed estates. . . . It is a thong of leather, half an inch wide and a quarter of an inch thick. No ordinary driver is allowed to give more than six lashes for any offense, the head driver twelve, and the overseer twenty-four. When an estate is under superior management, the system is remarkably effective in preventing crime. . . .

As a race, the negroes are mild and forgiving, and by no means so prone to indulge in drinking as the white man or the Indian.

SOURCE: Sir Charles Lyell, A Second Visit to the United States of North America (J. Murray, London, 1849), 262-266.

Frances Anne Kemble, born and educated in England, was an actress who toured America while still in her teens in the early 1830's. Courted by many, she finally married Pierce Butler, a dashing bachelor of a

wealthy and aristocratic Southern family, who was then living in Philadelphia. After a few years financial difficulties forced Butler to return to the family holdings in Georgia. Before leaving for the South, Fanny promised to write her closest friend, Elizabeth Sedgewick, who was a passionate opponent of slavery, of her experiences on Butler's cotton and rice plantations. In a series of long letters she described her reactions to slavery, the effect of slavery on the planter and even its effect upon her children.

Frances Kemble on Slavery

I walked down the settlement toward the (hospital) calling in at one or two of the houses along the row. These cabins consist of one room about twelve feet by fifteen, with a couple of closets . . . divided off from the main room and each other by rough wooden partitions, in which the inhabitants sleep. They have almost all of them a rude bed, with the gray moss of the forests for mattress, and filthy . . . blankets for covering. Two families (sometimes eight and ten in number) reside in one of these huts. . . . Attached to each hovel is a small scrap of ground for a garden, which, however, is for the most part untended and uncultivated. . . .

Firewood and shavings lay littered about the floors, while the half naked children were cowering around two or three smouldering cinders (of a dead fire). In the midst of the floor, or squatting around the cold hearth would be four or five little children from four to ten years old, the latter all with babies in their arms, the care of infants being taken from mothers (who are driven afield as soon as they recover from child labor) and (fell) upon these poor little nurses, as they were called, whose business it is to watch the infant, and carry it to its mother whenever it may require nourishment. . . .

But how shall I describe to you the spectacle which was presented to me on entering (the hospital)? In the enormous chimney glimmered the powerless embers of a few sticks of wood, round which, however, as many of the sick women as could approach were cowering . . . most of them on the ground, excluding those who were too ill to rise. . . . Here lay women expecting every hour the terrors and agonies of childbirth, others who had just brought their doomed offspring into the world, others who were groaning over the anguish

and bitter disappointment of miscarriages--here lay some burning with fever, others chilled with cold and aching with rheumatism, upon the hard cold ground, the draughts and dampness of the atmosphere increasing their sufferings, and dirt, noise, and stench. . . .

(As far as the overseer is concerned) he may, if he likes, flog a slave to death, for the laws which pretend that he may not are a mere pretence, inasmuch as the testimony of a black is never taken against a white; and upon the plantation of ours, and a thousand more, the overseer is the only white man, so whence should come the testimony to any crime of his? With regard to the oft-repeated statement that it is not the owner's interest to destroy his human property it answers nothing. . . . Nothing is commoner than for a man under . . . anger to disregard his worldly advantage; and the black slave whose preservation is indeed supposed to be his owner's interest may be, and is occasionally sacrificed to the blind impulse of passion.

Before closing . . . I have a mind to transcribe to you the entries for today recorded in a sort of daybook, where I put down . . . the number of people who visit me, their petitions and ailments, and also such special particulars concerning them as seem to me worth recording. . . . Judge from the details I now send you; and never forget, while reading them, that the people on this plantation are well off, and consider themselves well off, in comparison with the slaves on some of the neighboring estates.

Flanny - has had six children; all of them are dead but one. She came to beg to have her work in the field lightened.

Nanny - has had three children; two of them are dead. She came to implore me that the rule of sending them into the field three weeks after their confinement might be altered.

Leah - Caesar's wife, has had six children; three are dead.

Sophy - Scipio's wife, has had two miscarriages and three children born one of whom is dead. She came complaining of incessant pain and weakness in her back. . . .

Charlotte - Renty's wife, has had two miscarriages, and was with child again. She was almost crippled with rheumatism, and showed me a pair of poor swollen knees that made my heart ache. I promised her a pair of flannel trousers, which I must . . . set about making.

Sarah - Stephen's wife--this woman's case and history were alike deplorable. She has had four miscarriages,

had brought seven children into the world, five of whom were dead, and was again with child. She complained of dreadful pains in the back, and an internal tumor which swells with the exertion of working in the fields; probably I think she is ruptured. She told me she had once been mad and run into the woods, where she contrived to elude discovery for some time, but was at last tracked and brought back, when she was tied up by the arms, and heavy logs fastened to her feet, and was severely flogged. . . .

Molly - Quambo's wife, also came to see me. Hers was the best account I have yet received; she has had nine children, and six of them were still alive.

This is only the entry for today, in my diary, of the people's complaints and visits. Can you conceive a more wretched picture than that which it exhibits of the conditions under which these women live?

SOURCE: Frances Anne Kemble, Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation (Harper & Bros., New York, 1863), 30-33, 43, 189-191.

SLAVERY III

TWO FAMOUS EX-SLAVES' ACCOUNTS

Yesterday we saw slavery through the eyes of two English travelers. They disagreed widely in their descriptions. Today, let us look at slavery through the eyes of two former slaves that went on to achieve greatness in their own right: Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass.

Consider the following questions as you read:

1. What is Booker T. Washington's opinion of slavery? of Southern whites?
2. What is Frederick Douglass' opinion of slavery?
3. Why do Washington and Douglass differ in their descriptions? Which account is more accurate? Why? Evidence?

In his autobiography, Booker T. Washington--prominent Negro educator and politician at the beginning of the twentieth century--described his youth on a Virginia plantation before and during the Civil War.

Booker T. Washington Describes Slavery

I was born a slave on a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia. I am not quite sure of the exact place or exact date of my birth.

My life had its beginnings in the midst of the most miserable, desolate and discouraging surroundings. This was so, however, not because my owners were especially cruel, for they were not, as compared with many others. I was born in a typical log cabin, about fourteen by sixteen feet square. In this cabin I lived with my mother and a brother and sister till after the Civil War, when we were all declared free.

The cabin was not only our living place, but was also used as the kitchen for the plantation. My mother was the plantation cook. The cabin was without glass windows; it had only openings in the side which let in the light, and also

the cold, chilly air of winter. There was a door to the cabin--that is, something that was called a door--but the uncertain hinges by which it was hung, and the large cracks in it, to say nothing of the fact that it was too small, made the room a very uncomfortable one. . . . There was no wooden floor in our cabin, the naked earth being used as a floor. In the center of the earthen floor there was a large, deep opening covered with boards, which was used as a place in which to store sweet potatoes during the winter. . . .

The early years of my life, which were spent in the little cabin, were not very different from those of thousands of other slaves. My mother, of course, had little time in which to give attention to the training of her children during the day. She snatched a few moments for our care in the early morning before her work began, and at night after the day's work was done. One of my earliest recollections is that of my mother cooking a chicken late at night, and awakening her children for the purpose of feeding them. . . . I cannot remember having slept in a bed until after our family was declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation. Three children--John, my older brother, Amanda, my sister, and myself--had a pallet on the dirt floor or to be more correct, we slept in and on a bundle of filthy rags laid upon the dirt floor.

I had no schooling whatever while I was a slave, though I remember on several occasions I went as far as the schoolhouse door with one of my young mistresses to carry her books. The picture of several dozen boys and girls in a schoolroom engaged in study made a deep impression upon me, and I had the feeling that to get into the schoolhouse and study in this way would be about the same as getting into paradise.

I cannot remember a single instance during my childhood or early boyhood when our entire family sat down to the table together, and God's blessing was asked and the family ate a meal in a civilized manner. On the plantation in Virginia, and even later, meals were gotten by the children very much as dumb animals get theirs. It was a piece of bread here and a scrap of meat there. It was a cup of milk at one time and some potatoes at another. Sometimes a portion of our family would eat out of the skillet or pot, while some one would eat from a tin plate held on the knees, and often using nothing but the hands with which to hold the food. . . .

One may get the idea from what I have said, that there was bitter feeling toward the white people on the part of my race. . . . In the case of the slaves on our place this was

not true, and it was not true of any large portion of the slave population in the South where the Negro was treated with anything like decency. During the Civil War one of my young masters was killed, and two were severely wounded. I recall the feeling of sorrow which existed among the slaves when they heard of the death of "Mars" Billy. It was no sham sorrow but real. Some of the slaves had nursed "Mars" Billy; others had played with him when he was a child. "Mars" Billy had begged for mercy in the case of others when the overseer or master was thrashing them. The sorrow in the slave quarter was only second to that in the "big house" . . . This tenderness and sympathy on the part of those held in bondage was a result of their kindly and generous nature. In order to defend and protect the women and children who were left on the plantations when the white males went to war, the slaves would have laid down their lives. The slave who was selected to sleep in the "big house" during the absence of the males was considered to have the place of honor. Anyone attempting to harm "young mistress" or "old mistress" during the night would have to cross the dead body of the slaves to do so. I do not know how many have noticed it, but I think that it will be found to be true that there are few instances . . . in which a member of my race has been known to betray a specific trust.

From some things that I have said one may get the idea that some of the slaves did not want freedom. This is not true. I have never seen one who did not want to be free or one who would return to slavery.

SOURCE: Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery (A. L. Burt Co., New York, 1901), 1-6.

Frederick Douglass, ex-slave, abolitionist, crusader for Negro equality, and government official was born a slave on a Maryland plantation in 1817. Sent to Baltimore to live with a relative of his master, he was taught to read and write by his new master's wife. Clashes between Douglass and the master resulted in his being sent to another plantation as a field hand; here he attempted to escape but was unsuccessful. In 1838, after being sent again to Baltimore, where he learned the trade of a shipcaulker, he finally made good his escape from slavery.

Douglass had married a free colored woman he had known in Baltimore. He and his wife moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he earned a living as a laborer. Eventually an abolitionist who had heard Douglass speak to some colored friends about his experience as a slave, asked him to address an anti-slavery convention. This speech launched him upon a career as an active abolitionist. Working for the New England Anti-Slavery Society, he traveled the length and breadth of the North. On occasions he was mobbed, spat upon, beaten and humiliated; abolitionists were not popular with the general public in the 1840's. Nevertheless, these experiences reinforced his desire to seek the emancipation of all Negroes from slavery.

In 1845 when he published a Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass he fled to Great Britain since information in the book would have led to his recapture as a fugitive slave. His experiences in England and Ireland convinced him that physical freedom from slavery was not enough; freedom must be accompanied by full equality. Upon his return to the United States he plunged anew into a variety of abolitionist activities. His close association with John Brown forced Douglass to flee to Canada after Brown was captured at Harpers Ferry. Throughout the Civil War he worked for the emancipation of Negroes and recruited two Negro regiments for the Union Army. After the war he continued to crusade for Negro rights and was eventually appointed to several government positions.

The following selection is taken from Douglass' autobiography and describes his boyhood on the Maryland plantation of Colonel Lloyd.

Frederick Douglass Describes His Youth Enslaved

It was the boast of slaveholders that their slaves enjoyed more of the physical comforts of life than the peasantry of any country in the world. My experience contradicts this. The men and women slaves on Col. Lloyd's farm received their monthly allowance of food, eight pounds of pickled pork, or its equivalent in fish. The pork was often tainted, and the fish were of the poorest quality. With their pork or fish, they had given them one bushel of Indian meal . . . of which quite fifteen percent was more fit for pigs than for men. With this, one pint of salt was given--and this was the entire monthly allowance of a full-grown slave, working constantly in the open field from morning till night every day in the month except Sunday. There is no kind of work which really requires a better supply of food to prevent physical exhaustion than the field work of a slave.

The yearly allowance of clothing was not more ample than the supply of food. It consisted of two pair of trousers and a woolen jacket for winter, with one pair of yarn stockings and a pair of shoes. . . . Children under ten years old had neither shoes, stockings, jackets, nor trousers. They had two coarse linen shirts per year, and when these were worn out they went naked till the next allowance day--and this was the condition of the little girls as well as of the boys. As to beds, they had none. One coarse blanket was given them, and this only to the men and women. The children stuck themselves in holes and corners about the quarters, often in the corners of huge chimneys, with their feet in the ashes to keep them warm. The want of beds, however, was not considered a great privation by the field hands. Time to sleep was of far greater importance. For when the day's work was done most of these had their washing, mending, and cooking to do, and having few or no facilities for doing such things, very many of their needed sleeping hours were consumed in necessary preparations for the labors of the coming day. Old and young, male and female, married and single, dropped down on the common clay floor, each covering up with his or her blanket, their only protection from cold or exposure.

The night, however, was shortened at both ends. The slaves worked often as long as they could see, and were late in cooking, mending for the coming day, and at the first gray streak of the morning they were summoned to the field by the overseer's horn. They were whipped for over-sleeping more than for any other fault. Neither age or sex found any favor. The overseer stood at the . . . door, for the (last) one was sure to get a blow from the overseer. Young mothers who worked in the field were allowed an hour, about ten o'clock in the morning, to go home to nurse their children. This was when

they were not required to take them to the field with them and leave them . . . in the corner of the fences.

As a general rule the slaves did not come to their quarters to take their meals but took their ash-cakes and a piece of pork, or their salt herrings, where they were at work.

SOURCE: Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (DeWolfe, Fiske, and Co., Boston, 1892), 61-62.

SLAVERY IVLET A SLAVE SPEAK

Thus far, we have read and discussed what slavery was like from the viewpoints of two English travelers, Sir Charles Lyell and Fanny Kemble, and two ex-slaves who became race leaders, Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. But what of the average slave? How about the man and woman who toiled away their days in bondage, couldn't read or write and did not become famous. Their remembrances of slavery count too.

In the 1930's as part of a federal government's attempt to preserve the folk culture of parts of our country, ex-slaves were interviewed about their experiences during slavery and immediately after emancipation. Two of these accounts follow. Consider these questions as you read:

1. What is Millie Evans' opinion of slavery? Why does Millie Evans feel that way about slavery? Include specific evidence.
2. What is Jennie Proctor's opinion of slavery? Why does she feel that way? Specific evidence?
3. Why do both accounts differ?

Millie Evans: North Carolina (Age: 88)

[The selection recounts the daily routine of Millie Evans' childhood including games, treats, religious education, dancing and singing. Although the speaker considers her childhood a more secure existence than that in the 1930's, she mentions beatings, poor medical treatment and hard work in slavery, and concludes that freedom seemed remote, but "thank God" she lived to see it.]

Jennie Proctor: Alabama (Age: 87)

[The description emphasizes the poverty, hunger, cold, cruel treatment and suppression of slaves. Specific incidents include beating for stealing a biscuit, the appropriation of rabbits and possum caught by the slaves in their spare time, the use of "stockades" and "bull pens" for punishment, the denial of educational and religious training, and the destruction of family units.]

SOURCE: B. A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down (University of Chicago Press, 1945), 61-65, 89-93.

SLAVERY VCAN ANY CONCLUSIONS BE REACHED?

After reading six descriptions of various plantations, most students would be hard-pressed to come up with a neat statement such as: "Slavery was a harsh, brutal institution," or "Slavery was a kind secure way of life." Slavery was more complex than that. Given this complexity, can any conclusion be reached about slavery and what the life of the slave was like? One way of searching for a generalization (or conclusion) would be to review all the evidence.

On the basis of the six selections, try to reach a conclusion that satisfies all the evidence for the following areas: 1) food, shelter, clothing; 2) family life; 3) work; 4) leisure time and recreation; 5) religious life.

In each conclusion you draw, list the specific proof from the readings to support your conclusion.

1. Food, shelter, clothing

2. Family life

3. Leisure and recreation

4. Religious life

4. Work

SLAVERY VI
LAWS OF THE SOUTH

Ask any adult about teenagers and you will hear a whole range of generalizations, such as:

"They're all wild."

"They have no respect for authority."

"Have you heard, the way those teenagers carry on?"

"Crime, auto-theft, you can't really trust them now; practically all are delinquents anyway."

"And that music. God, how awful can music get; they just don't have any taste."

And like most generalizations of this type, teenagers reply with resentment and scorn. Many reply that these statements are inaccurate because not all teens act that way or have those tastes. Others say that there are so many teenagers and so many different ways that they behave--that it is virtually impossible to generalize about such a group of people. In a word, teenagers are a complex, not simple, group and cannot be simply captured in a single statement. Maybe so. But people keep trying.

In our discussion of slavery, we have seen how complex slavery really was; how difficult it is to capture the essence of slavery into one or more statements. But have we covered all the evidence? Are there other sources of information about slavery other than personal accounts of the people involved? There are.

Historians have found that court records of cases involving slaveholders, slaves, free Negroes, etc., are abundantly rich in source material.

Another source is the legal code, or laws, of various Southern states. They, too, give an insight into the nature of slavery. Possibly, a brief examination of some of the laws in various slave codes of different Southern states may provide us with more information with which to make a generalization concerning slavery.

As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. According to the laws here, are slaves considered as property or human beings? Proof? Use laws to support answer.
2. Who enforced these laws? Would enforcement of these laws be the same throughout the South? Of course, you may use previous readings for evidence.
3. What evidence is there in earlier readings that some of these laws were broken?
4. Why were these slave laws passed?

The following laws were common to most Southern states before the Civil War.

1. The status of a child of mixed Negro and white parents depended upon status of mother.
2. Slaves are personal property (in two states slaves were real estate).
3. Slaves could not make any contract of any kind.
4. Slaves were not permitted to possess guns.
5. No one, not even the master, was permitted to teach a slave to read or write; or give books or pamphlets.
6. A slave was not to raise his hand against a white man nor to use insulting language.
7. Slaves away from the plantation must have a pass which he must show to any white man who so desires.
8. Slaves were not permitted to purchase or possess liquor without witten consent of the master.
9. Slaves could not raise cotton, pigs, horses, or cattle.
10. Slaves could not own property.

11. Masters who refused to feed and clothe slaves properly could be fined.
12. No slave's testimony would be accepted in court unless it was a case involving another slave.
13. No slave could be a party to a lawsuit in a court.
14. Masters could be punished for cruelly mistreating a slave or killing a slave.
15. No slave was permitted to preach, except to his master's slaves on that plantation in the presence of whites.
16. Any gathering of more than a few slaves (usually five) away from home and unattended by whites was considered unlawful assembly.
17. Slaves could not trade without a permit; gamble with whites or with other slaves.
18. Slaves in many cities of the South had to step aside when whites passed by. In Charleston, slaves were not permitted to swear, smoke, walk with a cane.

SLAVERY VIICOMPARING SLAVE SYSTEMS

If something about slavery can be learned from examining a few of the slave codes, then we can also learn something of slavery in the South by investigating the laws of another system of slavery. We will do this in a similar manner to the last lesson except for a few changes.

On the next few pages are listed some laws and customs drawn from the Southern system of slavery and laws and customs drawn from an unidentified country's slave system (called Country X).

You are to do the following:

- a. Cut out each statement.
- b. Separate the statements into two groups; one set of statements for the American South, the other set for Country X.
- c. Take two sheets of unlined paper, label one "The American South" and paste or attach all the statements that apply. Do the same for the other sheet of paper, labeling it "Country X," etc.
- d. After completing the two sheets of paper, list the letters of each sheet below:

<u>"American South"</u>			<u>"Country X"</u>		
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

After this has been done, consider these questions:

1. Which system of slavery restricted the slave most? Use statements to support answer.

2. In which system would it be easier for a slave to become free? Evidence from statements?
3. In which system would it be possible for a slave to maintain some form of family life, that is father-mother-children unit? Evidence from statements?
4. In which system is the color of a man's skin less important?
5. In which country would it be easier for slaves to be included in the community after they were freed? Why?
6. In what part of the world do you think Country X is located? There are two clues, can you find them?

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|--|---|
| A. All Negroes who are or shall be in this province, and all children, born or to be born shall be and hereby declared to be and remain forever absolute slaves. | G. The slave may not acquire any property by earning it, by gift, or by inheritance, there being no inheritable blood in him. |
| B. All men are equal in their capacity for learning. The difference between slavery and freedom is a product of accident and misfortune. | H. Slaves were allowed legal and religious marriages and husband and wife could not be separated by their master. |
| C. No slave may be freed without his master's consent even if the slave is able to provide his full purchase price in payment for his freedom. | I. Any Negro who cannot prove that he is free is presumed to be a runaway slave and will be advertised as such. If no one claims him, he shall be sold at public auction. |
| D. There is no question of the right of the owner to sell his slaves separately, and no limitation upon separating husband and wife, or child from its mother can be made. | J. All men are naturally equal and because one man is a slave and another owns him does not give the slaveholder the same power as men who own cattle. |
| E. Rich planters often educated their slaves in schools in the cities or in foreign countries. | K. A fine of \$200 will be made on any slave owner freeing a slave without the previous consent of the legislature, and the slave shall remain in bondage. |
| F. No slave shall be permitted to testify in any court for any purpose whatsoever. | L. If no one can claim a Negro to be a slave, he shall be considered free. |

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|--|--|
| <p>M. NEGROES FOR SALE: A Negro woman 24 years of age and her two children--one eight and the other three years old. Said Negroes will be sold separately or together as desired. The woman is a good seamstress.</p> | <p>S. Any master wishing to free a slave must pay one thousand dollars bond to guarantee the freed slave's good behavior, and the freed slave must leave the province within 90 days and may never return.</p> |
| <p>N. A slave may have his price stated by his master and may be freed if he can pay this price to his master. A slave may free himself by installments, and after paying the first installment he may move from his master's house.</p> | <p>T. Slaves were encouraged to hire themselves out as carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, musicians and the like, and were allowed to keep part of their wages for themselves. In farming regions slaves were allowed to sell the products from their own land, given to them to work for themselves.</p> |
| <p>O. Any master permitting his slave to raise products for the slave's own use or for the slave to sell will be fined \$50.</p> | <p>U. There was an Attorney-General to whom all matters concerning treatment of slaves would come. He was appointed by the Crown to protect the interests of the slaves.</p> |
| <p>P. Any slave master shall be punished by a fine of thirty dollars for every weekly offence if he shall permit his slave to hire himself out to another for the slave's own benefit.</p> | <p>V. A master must give his slaves Sundays and Holidays off so they could work for themselves and save money to buy their freedom.</p> |
| <p>Q. All slaveowners are obliged to teach their slaves the principles of the Church so that slaves can be baptized.</p> | <p>W. No slave owner may free any slave by provision in his will.</p> |
| <p>R. A fine of \$100 will be imposed on anyone using a Negro for a scribe or upon anyone who teaches a Negro how to write.</p> | <p>X. On special occasions such as family festivals and national holidays slave owners might free one or more of their slaves.</p> |

SLAVERY VIII

ATTITUDES FROM SLAVERY

For the past seven lessons, we have searched for answers to a series of questions. Our original question asked why Negroes have occupied an inferior position in American life. This led us to an examination of slavery in the South before the Civil War. What was slavery like? The answer to this question took us into accounts of travelers and ex-slaves, with a brief look at some slave codes in the South and Latin-America. Answers, we have found, are complex and difficult to arrive at.

Equally complex and difficult is the impact that slavery had upon both white and Negro. Describing what slavery was all about is not exactly the same as finding out what happens to slave and master as far as personality, attitudes, habits, etc. For it is in these areas too, that we must investigate in order to answer the questions raised.

For today, we will examine white and Negro attitudes during and after slavery. The first selection is taken from Kenneth Stamp's Peculiar Institution, an extensive study of slavery. The last selection is taken from Richard Wright's autobiography, Black Boy in which he recounts his childhood and adolescent years before World War II. Consider the following questions, as you read:

1. According to Stamp, what are some of the attitudes slaves have toward their masters? What evidence is there in any of the accounts of ex-slaves and travelers that we have read which would prove or disprove Stamp's argument?

2. What attitudes does Richard Wright have toward the white woman that hires him? What does she think of him?
3. How does Shorty view white people? Why did he permit himself to be kicked?
4. Are the attitudes that Stamp describes similar to the attitudes of Richard Wright and Shorty? If so, how? If not, why not?
5. If by personality, we mean what a person thinks and how he behaves, did slavery affect the personality of the slave? Explain your answer using specific evidence from any of the readings we have had.

[In surmising about Negro attitudes toward "Whites," the author mentions amiable regard, cold opportunism, feigned subservience, suspicion, hate, and fear.]

SOURCE: Kenneth Stamp, The Peculiar Institution (Random House-Vintage, New York, 1964), 378-382.

Richard Wright Works in Mississippi

[The author describes his childhood job, doing chores for a white woman. He makes clear her exploitation of him, and his disdain for her patronizing attitude.]

Richard And Shorty In Memphis

[The selection describes first resentment among Negro laborers for the role they play in society; in the ensuing incident, Shorty, an elevator operator, "cons" a quarter from a white man in exchange for allowing himself to be kicked.]

SOURCE: Richard Wright, Black Boy (Harper & Bros., 1945) 127-129, 198-200.

SLAVERY IX

MORE ATTITUDES

If slavery affected the attitudes and personalities of bondsmen, it certainly did the same for slaveholders and white non-slaveholders.

As slavery came under attack from abolitionists and those opposed to its spread into western territories, many Southerners rose to the defense and began to point out why slavery is good--good for the Negro, good for the South, and good for the nation.

It is in the Southern defense of slavery that we can best see how the institution of bondage had its influence on white attitudes. Our material for today will focus on the arguments Southerners used to defend slavery, and some present-day white attitudes toward Negroes. Keep in mind the following questions as you read:

1. What is the connection between some of the pro-slavery arguments and certain white attitudes toward Negroes today? Evidence?
2. Imagine yourself as an abolitionist in 1860 or a civil rights worker in 1965. Construct an argument with sufficient evidence to reply to pro-slavery or pro-segregation feelings today.

Argument 1. God and the Bible accept slavery.

Reverend Thornton Stringfellow (1856) said: ". . . that when God entered into covenant with Abraham, it was with him as a slaveholder; that when He took his posterity by the hand in Egypt, five hundred years afterward to confirm his promise made to Abraham, it was done with them as slaveholders. . . .

Argument 2. Every civilized country has had slavery; it is essential to the well-being of the country.

Edmund Ruffin (1853) said: "Slavery has existed from as early time as historical records furnish any information of the social and political conditions of mankind. There was no country, in the most ancient time of its history, of which the people had made any considerable advances in industry or refinement, and in general use." Egypt, Greece, Rome, Islam, Great Britain, all had slavery.

Argument 3. Negroes are an inferior race.

Samuel Cartwright (1857) said, ". . . the negro is . . . a genuine human being . . . about the head and face, more like . . . the lower order of animals than any other species of the genus man."

"When the philosophy of . . . species of mankind is better understood, it will be seen how they, the lowest of the human species can be made (to participate) in the blessings and benefits of the Written Word of God. The plantation laws against (more than one wife), intoxicating drinks, and other . . . sins of the negro race in the savage state, are gradually and silently converting the African barbarian into a moral, rational, and civilized being. . . ."

(Cartwright goes into great detail in describing the physical differences between the races, especially skin color, size of brain, facial features, and senses. The implication is that anything different from the white race is inferior.)

SOURCES: Thornton Stringfellow, "The Biblical Argument," in E. N. Elliot, ed. Cotton is King (Pritchard, Abbott & Loomis, Augusta, 1860).

Edmund Ruffin, The Political Economy of Slavery (Lemuel Towers, Washington, 1853), n.p.

Samuel Cartwright, "Natural History of the Prognathous Species of Mankind," in E. N. Elliot, Cotton is King, 707-716, passim.

Southern Comments on Negroes Today

[A judge from Louisiana contends that Negro brain capacity is limited compared to whites; he cites the rate of illegitimacy as proof of the inherent immorality of Negroes. In the second quotation the editor of the Augusta, Georgia Courier concludes, after much contact with Negroes, that segregation is the only way the races can live together peacefully. Finally Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, describes the Negro as a "diseased animal" who can never be equal to whites; he quotes Scripture for support of his argument.]

SOURCE: Reese Cleghorn, "The Segs," Esquire, (January, 1964) 71-75 passim.

What The White Citizens' Council

Recommends For The Classroom

[The selection quotes from a text for third and fourth grades which gives these reasons for segregation: white men built America and bequeathed it to white descendants, both races are happier apart, mixed races would weaken the country, and God wills it thus. In the reading recommended for fifth and sixth grades, the Biblical evidence is stressed; an analogy to the raising of red and white chickens is added.]

SOURCE: Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (Random House, New York, 1964), 149-150.

SLAVERY X
SLAVE REBELLIONS

One of the most common misconceptions about slavery is that slaves were content with their lives; few ever attempted to rock the boat. Some of our readings have already suggested a great deal of discontent on the part of slaves about their bondage. Yet some students, after reading a great deal about slavery, ask why the slaves didn't complain, fight back, resist servitude. The answer is, of course, that many slaves hated slavery and did fight back, did resist. Resistance, however, has many faces. Let's examine some forms of this resistance. The most obvious form is outright rebellion.

Some historians have uncovered over one hundred instances of slave rebellions, large and small. A great many more were undoubtedly planned but for one reason or another were put aside. The reading for today will focus on Nat Turner's insurrection, which occurred in Virginia in 1831. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. According to the two accounts, why did Nat Turner rebel?
2. How does Nat Turner's account of what happened differ from Lerone Bennett's description? What is Bennett's opinion of Turner? Hero or fanatic?
3. Why did areas far removed from Southampton, Virginia become alarmed at the uprising?
4. What results would occur in white attitudes and behavior after the revolt was crushed?
5. How did Whites react to the insurrection?

Nat Turner Speaks

[In his testimony after capture, Turner recalls his unusual psychic powers, apparent from childhood. Following Divine revelations and visions, he decided to "carry terror and devastation" through the countryside. Turner's subsequent capture is described.]

SOURCE: Herbert Aptheker, Documental History of the Negro People in the United States (Citadel Press, New York, 1962), 120-125.

A Modern Writer Describes The

Nat Turner Insurrection

[The selection provides data on Turner's life and appearance, and a description of his personality, intelligence, and sense of mission. Turner's band murdered all slave owners and their families in the area, it is recounted, and the white community retaliated with the massacre of Negroes. Hysteria prevailed until Turner was hanged.]

SOURCE: Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower (Johnson Press, Chicago, 1961), 118-124.

SLAVERY XI

RUNAWAYS

To be a Nat Turner was a great risk that many slaves hesitated taking, mainly, because the chances of success were so slim. Another possibility, though equally as dangerous, was to run away. Much has been written about the Underground Railroad, the white and Negro "conductors" who aided escaped slaves, and the hair-breadth escapes made by fugitives.

The fact that slaves did run away is a stubborn one and cannot easily be forgotten while reading of the many slaves that loved Ole Massa and Missy. From time to time, ex-slaves corresponded with their former masters. These letters, free from the fear and oppression of slavery, permitted the freedman to express his feelings more openly.

The following letters, written in 1860, comprise the reading for today. Keep in mind the following questions:

1. Why did Mrs. Logue ask for \$1,000? Why did she expect Jarm to pay the money?
2. Why was Jarm upset at Mrs. Logue's letter?
3. Why didn't Jarm say the things he did in the letter to Mrs. Logue when he was her slave?
4. What does the word "liberty" mean to Mrs. Logue? Jarm?

Mrs. Sarah Logue Complains

To Jarm:--I now take my pen to write you a few lines, to let you know how we all are. I am a cripple, but I am still able to get about. The rest of the family are all well. Cherry is as well as common. I write you these lines to let you know the situation we are in,--partly in consequence of your running

away and stealing Old Rock, our fine mare. Though we got the mare back, she never was worth much after you took her;--and, as I now stand in need of some funds, I have determined to sell you, and I have had an offer for you, but did not see fit to take it. If you will send me one thousand dollars, and pay for the old mare, I will give up all claim I have to you. Write to me as soon as you get these lines, and let me know if you will accept my proposition. In consequence of your running away, we had to sell Abe and Ann and twelve acres of land; and I want you to send me the money, that I may be able to redeem the land that you was the cause of our selling, and on receipt of the above-named sum of money, I will send you your bill of sale. If you do not comply with my request, I will sell you to some one else, and you may rest assured that the time is not far distant when things will be changed with you. Write to me as soon as you get these lines. Direct your letter to Bigbyville, Maury County, Tennessee. You had better comply with my request.

I understand that you are a preacher. As the Southern people are so bad you had better come and preach to your old acquaintances. I would like to know if you read your Bible. If so, can you tell what will become of the thief if he does not repent? and, if the blind lead the blind, what will the consequence be? I deem it unnecessary to say much more at present. A word to the wise is sufficient. You know where the liar has his part. You know that we reared you as we reared our own children; that you was never abused, and that shortly before you ran away, when your master asked if you would like to be sold, you said you would not leave him to go with anybody.

Jarm Replies

Mrs. Sarah Logue: Yours of the 20th of February is duly received, and I thank you for it. It is a long time since I heard from my poor old mother, and I am glad to know that she is yet alive, and, as you say, "as well as common." What that means, I don't know. I wish you had said more about her.

You are a woman; but, had you a woman's heart, you never could have insulted a brother by telling him you sold his only remaining brother and sister, because he put himself beyond your power to convert him into money.

You sold my brother and sister, Abe and Ann, and twelve acres of land, you say, because I ran away. Now you have the unutterable meanness to ask me to return and be your miserable chattel, or . . . send you \$1000 to enable you to redeem the

land, but not to redeem my poor brother and sister! If I were to send you money, it would be to get my brother and sister, and not that you should get land. You say you are a cripple, and doubtless you say it to stir my pity, for you knew I was susceptible in that direction. I do pity you from the bottom of my heart. Nevertheless, I am indignant beyond the power of words to express, that you should be so sunken and cruel as to tear the hearts I love so much all in pieces; that you should be willing to impale and crucify us all, out of compassion for your poor foot or leg. Wretched woman! Be it known to you that I value my freedom, to say nothing of my mother, brothers and sisters, more than your whole body; more, indeed, than my own life; more than all the lives of all the slaveholders and tyrants under heaven.

You say you have offers to buy me, and that you shall sell me if I do not send you \$1000, and in the same breath and almost in the same sentence, you say, "You know we raised you as we did our own children." Woman, did you raise your own children for the market? Did you raise them for the whipping-post? Did you raise them to be driven off, bound . . . in chains? Where are my poor bleeding brothers and sisters? Can you tell? Who was it that sent them off into sugar and cotton fields, to be kicked and cuffed, and whipped, and to groan and die; and where no kin can hear their groans, or attend and sympathize at their dying bed, or follow in their funeral? Wretched woman! Do you say you did not do it? Then I reply, your husband did, and you approved the deed--and the very letter you sent me shows that your heart approves it all. Shame on you!

But, by the way, where is your husband? You don't speak of him. I infer, therefore, that he is dead; that he has gone to his great account, with all his sins against my poor family upon his head. Poor man! gone to meet the spirits of my poor, outraged and murdered people, in a world where Liberty and Justice are Masters.

But you say I am a thief, because I took the old mare along with me. Have you got to learn that I had a better right to the old mare, as you call her, than Mannasseh Logue had to me? Is it a greater sin for me to steal his horse, than it was for him to rob my mother's cradle, and steal me? If he and you infer that I forfeit all my rights to you, shall not I infer that you forfeit all your rights to me? . . . Before God and high heaven, is there a law for one man which is not a law for every other man?

. . . Did you think to terrify me by presenting the alternative to give my money to you, or give my body to slavery? . . . I stand among a free people, who, I thank God, sympathize with my rights, and the rights of mankind; and if your emissaries . . . come here to re-enslave me, I . . . I trust my strong and brave friends, in this city and State, will be my rescuers and avengers.

SOURCE: The Liberator, April 27, 1860.

SLAVERY XIIHARRIET TUBMAN

If slaves rebelling against their master is one form of resistance, clearly, another is running away. It was not a simple task, however. Slave patrollers, professional slave catchers, threats of torture and punishment, and the difficulty of traveling over unfamiliar and hostile land discouraged many from taking the risk. Still, thousands took the risk, and made it.

What about a runaway that returns to the South to help others escape; returns not once but over fifteen times? Brave? Foolish? Whatever the answer, Harriet Tubman, an illiterate slave demonstrated her distaste for bondage.

As you read the selection for today, a description of Harriet Tubman, keep the following questions in mind:

1. According to this selection, why did she run away?
2. Does the description of life on Harriet's plantation differ from what we have read? Remember Langston Hughes' description is through the eyes of a person who lived a century after the event. If you think Hughes' picture of slavery is accurate, indicate why you think so? If you feel it is inaccurate, say why. Be specific.
3. In your opinion, why did Harriet Tubman risk her life repeatedly to help others run away?

[The section recounts the life of Harriet Tubman beginning with her miserable childhood, the accidental blow to her head which caused "seizures" of sleep, her marriage, and her flight from slavery and the south. Her concern for those still enslaved is described, and examples are given of her aid to escapees. Her ingenuity, courage and humor are stressed.]

SOURCE: Langston Hughes, Famous American Negroes (Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc., 1954).

SLAVERY XIIISLAVE HUMOR

Most slaves did not run away or kill their masters. Were there other forms of resistance to slavery besides physical violence or escape? Some historians think so. They point out the great number of complaints by slaveholders about the inefficiency of slaves and the carelessness of slaves with farm animals and equipment. According to these historians, such behavior by slaves is evidence that they hated slavery and that laziness and carelessness were other ways of resisting the power of the slaveholder.

Some social scientists have extended this to include jokes, humorous stories, and spirituals. They reason that when a group of people, any people, are not permitted to express their true feelings because they fear punishment, then such people find other means of expressing those feelings. One way of testing this idea of social scientists is to examine some slave humor.

The material for today was taken from B. A. Botkin's Lay My Burden Down, the book from which we read Millie Evan's and Jennie Proctor's accounts of slavery. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Who is the fool in most of these tales? Who is the sharp, shrewd individual? Evidence?
2. What attitudes toward slavery come from these tales? Do they express love, fear, hate, etc. of slavery? Evidence?
3. In what ways does it help certain people under a great deal of pressure to tell jokes?

Fooling Master

[In the story Dick, a "darky," claimed sick so often that his master, in annoyance, ordered him out of his sight, to the house. Dick spent seven years there eating and playing his fiddle until the master took a look at him one day and finding him well, ordered him back to work.]

Catching John

[John, a slave, enjoyed a reputation for honesty, it is told. A visitor to his plantation tricked John into revealing that his curiosity was stronger than his good word. The selection ends with the observation that the visitor rightly saw that John's honesty was a sham, "'cause us had to lie.'"]

Malitis

[The slaves of a stingy man "got even" with their owner by clubbing his hogs with a mallet and telling him it was "malitis" that killed them. The master, fearing the unfamiliar disease, gave the hogs to the slaves for food.]

We Laughed At His Funeral

[The speaker describes a cruel master who maltreated her and her family. When he died she and her sister spontaneously laughed before the coffin. Despite a whipping, they were not sorry.]

Turn the Tray Around

[The story begins with the description of a white preacher who urged the slaves to pray for a northern defeat in order to keep their homes and the security of slavery. A slave spoke to the group the same night, in a secret meeting, encouraging them to pray instead for a defeat for the south. He told the story of Uncle Tom who put poison into the food of Uncle Bob; when Tom wasn't looking, Bob, who had seen the gesture, switched the tray. The speaker urged his fellows to "turn the tray around."]

SOURCE: B. A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down (University of Chicago, 1945), 3-4, 7-8, 164-165.

SLAVERY XIVSPIRITUALS

If slavery produced a Harriet Tubman and a Frederick Douglass, it also produced spirituals. Some writers have called spirituals "the greatest gift of the Negro people." And in the past century, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson and Marion Anderson have popularized and emphasized--through their voices--the cultural contribution of the Negro.

Though the origin of spirituals has been called into doubt--did they originate in Africa or were they borrowed from white gospel hymns? --slaves used these "sorrow songs" as a means of expressing their feelings. Was this another way of resisting the power and influence of slavery?

Let's look at the lyrics of these songs. As you read (sing?) these verses, consider the following questions:

1. What are the main ideas in these songs?
2. Why is there so much reference to Biblical subjects?
3. What does "Jordon" and "Promised Land" represent in these spirituals?
4. What group of people in the Bible do slaves compare themselves to? Why?
5. Are spirituals another way of resisting slavery? Explain.

Deep River

My home is over Jordan,
 Deep River, Lord
 I want to cross over into camp ground
 Deep River, my home is over Jordan.
 Deep River, Lord
 I want to cross over into camp ground.

Nobody Knows De Trouble I See

Nobody knows de trouble I see, Nobody knows but Jesus
 Nobody knows de trouble I see, Glory, hallelujah!
 Oh, nobody knows de trouble I see, nobody but Jesus--
 Nobody knows de trouble I see, Glory, hallelujah!

Sometimes I'm up Sometimes I'm down, oh, yes, Lord;
 I have my trials here below, oh, yes, Lord.
 Oh, nobody knows de trouble I see, nobody knows but Jesus
 Nobody knows de trouble I see, Glory hallelujah.

Let My People Go

When Israel was in Egypt's land, let my people go,
 Oppressed so hard they could not stand, let my people go.
 Go down, Moses, Way down in Egypt's land--Tell ole Pharoah
 To let my people go. O let my people go----

Thus saith the Lord, bold Moses said, let my people go!
 If not I'll smite your first born dead, let my people go!
 No more shall they in bondage toil, let my people go!
 Let them come out with Egypt's spoil, let my people go!

Little David

David was a shepherd boy,
 He killed Goliath and he shouted for joy.
 Little David, play on your harp,
 Hallelu! Hallelu!
 Little David, play on your harp,
 Hallelu!

Tell you what David done,
 Picked up a rock and out he run.
 (chorus)

Goliath was a mighty man,
 But God put strength in David's hand.
 (chorus)

Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel

(Chorus) Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
 Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
 And why not every man?

He delivered Daniel from the lion's den,
 And Jonah from the belly of the whale,
 And the Hebrew children from the fiery furnace,
 So why not every man? (chorus)

Hebrew Children

Where, O where, are the Hebrew children?
 Where, O where, are the Hebrew children?
 Where, O where, are the Hebrew children?
 Safe over in the promised land.
 Though the furnace flamed around them,
 God while in their troubles found them.
 Save over in the promised land.

Where, O where are the twelve apostles (Three times)
 Safe over in the promised land.
 They went up through pain and sighing,
 Scoffing, scourging, crucifying,
 Nobly for their master dying,
 Safe over in the promised land.

Where, O where, are the holy Christians? (Three times)
 Safe over in the promised land.
 Those who've washed their robes and made them
 White and spotless, pure, and laid them
 Where no earthly stain can fade them,
 Safe over in the promised land.

SLAVERY XVARE ANY SCARS LEFT?

In our unit, thus far, we have searched for an answer to the question: why does the Negro occupy an inferior position in American life today? Our search has led us into an investigation of the "peculiar institution"; what was it like, what impact did it have on attitudes and behavior of slave and master; did slaves accept or resist slavery? Our search for answers continues because there is no one answer to any of these questions.

And yet, our original question was answered by Don Barrett in a straight-forward, no-nonsense manner. The Negro, he said, is "inherently unequal." That's why Negroes are second-class citizens today.

Many Americans, according to what we have read, continue to share Barrett's opinions. They hold them in the face of evidence that has convinced many that Negroes are where they are because they have been denied equal opportunities. Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Booker T. Washington and countless others who have demonstrated excellence testify to the fact that if slaves were given the chance to perform, they could do well. Slave codes prohibiting reading, owning private property, farming indicate that Southerners may have realized that slaves could do just as well as masters if given opportunities; the law removed those opportunities.

Since the Civil War, more and more Negroes have shown that few areas in our life do not have a number of Negroes who have achieved excellence. Of course, the point is that the chance to succeed remains limited.

Those who reject the "inherently unequal" argument point to the overwhelming influence of environment in shaping behavior and personality. They argue that the physical and human surroundings of a person make him, to a great degree, what he is. If one lived among Indians a century ago, he would speak, eat, and dress like them. His habits would reflect his environment. This does not mean that he is inferior, it means that he adapted to his environment. Now when that person would leave the Indian village, would any traces of that Indian environment remain with him, especially if the people he now lives with felt that Indians were inferior? Those who believe that environment plays a large role in determining behavior and personality believe that marks of the old environment will remain.

Rather than say that this is the answer let us consider what we have been saying: Have three hundred years of bondage left their marks on the American Negro?

Your assignment is to write an essay entitled: "Are Any Scars Left?" Take a stand either way, that is, if you think slavery has marked the Negro today, then you will present enough evidence to convince the reader of your point of view. On the other hand, if you feel that slavery has left no trace--or very few--then you will argue for that point of view. There is no right or wrong answer. Re-read all the material in this unit (you may, if you wish, use other sources) and then consider the position of the Negro in American life today. What marks of oppression, if any, are there from centuries of servitude?

SLAVERY XVIARE ANY SCARS LEFT NOW?

As expected, there was a wide range of opinion concerning the influence of slavery on the American Negro today. Many students saw slavery as an environment, a brutal one at that, which left its mark. Other students vigorously denied any traces.

The readings for today are composed of two parts. The first is a sampling of student answers to this question. The students were from Washington, D.C. The second part of the reading is an article on Selma, Alabama in the New York Times. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. Would you agree or disagree with the student answers? Why?
2. What links or connections are there between the days of slavery and present-day Selma, Alabama, according to this article? Be specific.

The Student Answers . . .

[The student points to similarities between the lot of Negroes in slavery and in present society; he discusses wages, education, jobs, and family life.]

A Journalist Describes Selma

[In a discussion of the history of anti-Negro sentiment in Selma, the author considers voting rights, city ordinances, and law enforcement. He conjectures about reasons for fear of the Negro in the white population.]

SOURCE: John Herbers, "A Stronghold of Racism," New York Times (February 13, 1965).

JOHN BROWN:MARTYR OR INSANE FANATIC?

By 1859, feelings had worsened between North and South. The topic of slavery aroused strong emotions and was generally avoided among friends. To abolitionists, however, it was the reason for living. When John Brown, still being hunted for the murder of five pro-slavery Kansans, hatched a scheme to free the slaves--abolitionists listened and lent money. He planned to use the Blue Ridge Mountains of western Virginia as a base and with guerilla tactics raid neighboring plantations, free the slaves and gather an ever-increasing army. Such an army would eventually be large enough to invade the deep South. This was the plan. Gathering Negro and white supporters and some of his sons, he began the task of planning and executing his dream. That dream turned into a nightmare and there our story begins. Today we will read the opinion of one historian on John Brown and the various reactions of people to Brown's execution. Let's consider how some individuals judged John Brown. As you read, keep the following questions in mind?

1. What is Carl Sandburg's opinion of John Brown? Give proof to support your answer.
2. According to the selections, what was the Southern reaction to the raid, trial, and execution? The Northern reaction? Evidence?
3. What view did some Negroes of that period and since have toward John Brown? Why?
4. Can an evil act (murder) result in something good? If so, can't we say that John Brown's deeds were justified by the results.

Carl Sandburg on John Brown

[The account describes John Brown's action at Harper's Ferry and his conviction based largely upon Scripture, that he should begin the freeing of the slaves. The author stresses the fanatical aspect of Brown's nature.]

SOURCE: Carl Sandburg, Prairie Years (Dell Publishing Co., New York, 1954), 263-267 passim.

Some Negro Reactions

Two days after John Brown was hanged, a group of New Bedford, Massachusetts Negroes met and passed a series of resolutions, one of which follows:

Resolved, That the memory of John Brown shall be indelibly written upon the tablets of our hearts, and when tyrants cease to oppress the enslaved, we will teach our children to revere his name, and transmit it to the latest posterity, as being the greatest man in the 19th century.

Over a half-century later, a Negro newspaper in Cleveland printed the following item.

[The article reminds the reader that the day is the anniversary of Brown's death, and continues with a paean of his courage and ideals.]

SOURCES: The Liberator, December 16, 1859.

Cleveland Gazette, December 2, 1916.

The Memory Lingers

Within a year and a half of the raid, the Civil War began. One of the most popular songs sung by Union soldiers was "John Brown's Body."

1. John Brown's body lies a-mould'ring in the grave,
John Brown's body lies a-mould'ring in the grave,
John Brown's body lies a-mould'ring in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.
CHORUS: Glory, glory, hallelujah!
Glory, glory, hallelujah!
Glory, glory, hallelujah!
His soul goes marching on!
2. John Brown died that the slaves might be free,
John Brown died that the slaves might be free,
John Brown died that the slaves might be free,
But his soul goes marching on.
3. He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true;
He frightened Old Virginny till she trembled through and through;
They hung him for a traitor, themselves the traitor crew,
But his soul is marching on.
4. He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord,
He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord,
He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord,
His soul is marching on.
5. The stars of Heaven now are looking kindly down,
The stars of Heaven now are looking kindly down,
The stars of Heaven now are looking kindly down,
On the grave of old John Brown.

ANOTHER VIEW OF SLAVERY:

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

The Compromise of 1850 was law. Fears of secession eased. Southern and Northern fire-eaters ground their teeth in anger while those of the North and South who hated secession cheered. The Union was preserved. The question of whether slavery would extend into the territories was settled, at least for the time being.

Americans eagerly pushed the slave question aside and turned their attention to other things. Business increased. With the threat of disunion gone, business interests invested money, expanded production, and made optimistic plans for the upcoming years. Prosperity beckoned.

Railroads stretched their iron rails westward to Chicago. Iron rails bound Northeast to West. Western cattle, grain, fed eastern capitalists, immigrants, and laborers. And from the East flowed a steady stream of manufactured products: textiles, farm machinery, guns, shoes, etc.

The South prospered too. Cotton prices soared. Northern ships carried Southern cotton everywhere. Both North and South prospered from this trade. English mills clamored for the white stuff. With this demand, slaves prices rose as did the price of land. Indeed, the years following the Compromise of 1850 were rich and full ones. But beneath the prosperous surface, the question of slavery slumbered.

✓ Slumber or not, slaves continued to run away. Abolitionists continued their cry for immediate emancipation. After the Compromise, the one act that abolitionists hated most and ignored the most was the

Fugitive Slave Act. In those Northern areas where there was anti-slavery sentiment, slave catchers had a difficult time, indeed. The Old Stone Church in Cleveland's Public Square would toll its bell whenever a slave catcher was in town. Cleveland was inhospitable to such visitors, as were many other abolitionist strongholds.

Without doubt, the problem of slavery existed; it was still around. A New England mother of seven children wished to awaken the country; to awake the conscience of America to the evils of slavery.

Harriet Beecher Stowe came from a family of devout Christians. Her father and six of her brothers were ministers. Living in New England most of her life, she vibrated to the words of William Lloyd Garrison. She cried when she heard of what slaves had to endure. When one of Mrs. Stowe's brothers asked her to write "something that will make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." She replied: "I will write that thing if I live."

In the 1830's, Harriet Beecher (she was not married yet) lived in Cincinnati, across the river from slave state Kentucky. Cincinnati was an important "station" on the underground railroad. In this period, she spent three days in Kentucky. From this experience and from conversations with Frederick Douglass, other abolitionists, and ex-slaves--Miss Beecher gathered the raw material for her book.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was published in 1852. It shocked the country. The first edition of 5000 books sold out in 48 hours. Over 1,000,000 were sold in the next seven years. The fact that this number of books sold in a relatively short time in a period when everyone could not read

is phenomenal. The book was translated into German, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Swedish, and even Siamese. (You may have seen the movie "The King and I"; in the picture there is a dramatization of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Siamese style.)

Six months after the book appeared, a New York playwright adapted it for the stage and it played for 350 consecutive nights. The stage play of Uncle Tom's Cabin appeared across the nation continuously until 1930.

Certainly the book was a bombshell. Southern states banned it; but slaveholders read it anyway. Northerners couldn't put it down. It passed from hand to hand and probably anyone in the nation that could read, did read it, saw it on stage, or heard it told to them. If the Compromise of 1850 attempted to calm the issue and sweep it under the rug, the quiet little New England lady brought it out from underneath the rug and exposed the issue of slavery for all to see and feel.

The reading for today will be a summary of Uncle Tom's Cabin adapted from the book, Goodby Uncle Tom. If the summary interests you, the paperback novel is readily available. Read it.

As you read the summary keep the following questions in mind:

1. What sort of man is Uncle Tom? What traits does he have that you would admire? Dislike?
2. What picture of slavery is left with the reader? A harsh institution? A kind institution? Evidence?
3. How would you imagine Southern planters would react? Northern abolitionists?

[The selection summarizes the plot of Uncle Tom's Cabin and describes the characters in the simple terms of the book.]

SOURCE: J. C. Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom (William Sloane Associates, New York, 1956), 15-21, passim.

WHAT IS AN UNCLE TOM TODAY?

Words change meaning as time passes. Consider the word "democrat." Few people would be offended if they were called this; yet when our country was established, those who believed that the people should rule and that the majority should decide the important issues of the country were called radical and extreme. Thus, the worst term a person could use to describe someone who was thought to hold views threatening the Republic (much as we use the label Communist today) was to call that person a "democrat."

Democrat is one of hundreds of examples showing that words change. Take the label, "Uncle Tom." Taken from Harriet Beecher Stowe's book of that name, this phrase has altered tremendously today. To be called an Uncle Tom generates deep feelings of hate and resentment among Negroes. Why?

Let's examine an article that analyzes the changes that have overtaken the phrase "Uncle Tom." As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What did Uncle Tom mean originally? What does it mean today?
2. Why did the phrase change in meaning?
3. What does "Tomming" mean? Why do some people "Tom"?
4. Was the college president who sang for \$50,000 "Tomming"? Write at least a paragraph explaining your answer.

[The selection illustrates the changing meaning of the term "Uncle Tom." It cites a libel suit in which the plaintiff accuses a newspaper of calling her an "Uncle Tom." The meaning of the phrase is traced, beginning with a summary of Uncle Tom's Cabin, followed by a description of stage portrayals of this character. Modern use is quoted and explained.]

SOURCE: Alex Haley, "In 'Uncle Tom' Are Our Guilt and Hope," New York Times Magazine (March 1, 1964).

NEGRO COWBOYS

A teacher once overheard a little six year old, wearing a cowboy hat, chaps, spurs, and six shooter tell a Negro classmate: "You can't play. Who ever heard of Negro cowboys?"

Whether the story is true or not, many people would be surprised to know that Negro cowboys, trappers, hold-up men, and bronc-busters did exist. Movies, television, western comic books, and fiction rarely include reference to the fact that thousands of Negroes, slave and free, lived the lives of frontiersmen and westerners. This is not to say that the Negro won the West, or without the Negro there would not have been a westward movement. It is to say that the history of the West is distorted if one group of Americans is omitted in texts, movies, television. The reading for today is taken from a recent book on Negro cowboys. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. Did Negroes encounter prejudice and discrimination in the West?
2. What was there about the West that permitted some Negroes to excel in what they did?
3. Why hasn't some of the information in this selection been incorporated into textbooks, movies, and television?

As Cowboys for Ab Blocker, Trail Boss

[The selection describes the method of driving cattle to market and the role in this work of Frank, a Negro cowboy. Incidents involving Frank and other Negroes are recounted.]

Negro Bronco-Busters

[The predominance of Negro jockeys is explained and the career of one Negro bronco buster, Jim Owsley, is described.]

A Desperado

[The passage describes the history of the outlaw Cherokee Bill, part Negro and part Indian, who could be ruthless, vicious, gracious, entertaining and charming.]

Negro-White Relations

[The role of the Negro on the Western Frontier is illustrated with several incidents. In one a Negro killed a white man who insulted him; in another a white man defended his Negro friend from abuse. Mistreatment of Negroes is documented but the author claims that Negro cowboys felt "social, economic and legal sanctions" less directly than did Negroes in other situations.]

SOURCE: Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, The Negro Cowboys (Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965), 23-24, 38-40, 43-44, 172-175, 161-164.